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HARVARD STUDIES
IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME X

BOSTON, U.S.A.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THESE Studies are published by authority of Harvard University and are contributed chiefly by its instructors and graduates, although contributions from other sources are not excluded. The publication is supported by a fund of \$6000, generously subscribed by the class of 1856.

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SOME QUESTIONS IN LATIN STEM FORMATION.

BY J. B. GREENOUGH.

THE science of Linguistics is really less than a century old, a very short time indeed even to gather and coördinate any considerable body of facts, much less to schematize and explain them. So the complexity of the facts and the great significance of some of the minutest of them often lead men to subtlety of reasoning on subjects which would really find their explanation in the most obvious phenomena. The development of words from simpler elements, technically called stem formation, is a case of this kind. If you take up almost any book on this subject you are sure to find the most ingenious theories invented to account for things that ought to suggest their own explanation if looked at from the fundamental points of view already established in the science. No question has been more ingeniously discussed than that of the origin of the Latin *gerund*. Dozens of far-fetched and fine-spun theories have been worked out to account for its form and use. Yet it seems that the great fundamental principles as they are already settled beyond controversy are sufficient to account for all the facts about this seemingly difficult question. Let us examine a few of these principles.

All agree that the Indo-European family of languages has developed its words by a process of stem formation in which significant elements, presumably verbal roots, have been enlarged and differentiated by the addition in sequence of other significant elements, mostly of pronominal origin, and that these combinations thus grown or made have been again and again subjected to the same process in a greater or less degree, but always following the same type according to the genius of the particular branch of the Indo-European family. The Northern European languages have generally short words, because this process of further formation was in some manner arrested early; the Southern European and the Asiatic languages of the stock have long ones, because the process was fostered and continued to a very great

extent. The process is well exemplified by the series *Ausones*, itself evidently formed by a familiar suffix, *on* (*en*) (*i.e.* *aus* + *on*) *Auruncus*, † *Aurunculus* (*cf.* *sermunculus*) *Aurunculeius* (*cf.* *Pompeius*). If this word had not been appropriated to an individual or family we might have gone on to † *Aurunculeitas* (*cf.* *Appietas*, actually made by Cicero) or † *Aurunculeare* and from that to † *Aurunculeatura* or farther still unless the word should break down under its own weight.

Another principle is that in this continued process two or more of the elements successively added become fused together so as to be regarded as a single suffix and used as such. For instance, in the series mentioned, *unculus* comes to be felt as an integral element and so is applied as a whole to words where the intervening steps do not appear and probably never existed. Thus we have *avunculus*, without any *avo* (*-onis*), or *avuncus*. By comparing several series of words, however, we can in almost all cases recognize the steps of the process.

These two principles of stem formation have been followed in the Latin language more, perhaps, than in any other, so that the Latin vocabulary is particularly rich in such long and highly developed words, whereby the shorter have been in great measure superseded.

Another principle is that words in the process of development tend to become specialized in particular meanings. In their origin adjectival in sense, *i.e.* expressing qualities either active or passive or sometimes both indifferently, they become participles, nouns of agency, names of instruments, or even, more exactly, names of persons, places, or of any idea that seeks expression in human speech.

A fourth principle, not so freely recognized, but to my mind equally certain, is that scientifically no derivative is strictly (*i.e.* originally) made either from a verb or noun as such. Derivation evidently goes far back of any such distinction as verb and noun. The elements used were neither verbs nor nouns, because they were both at once, and in this state of language the type of derivation was fixed. The later derivatives, consciously made, come from parts of words abstracted as stems and treated in the old manner just as if inflexion had never existed. Any form that seemed like a root or a stem could be conceived as a suitable element for further formation on the fixed pattern.

Thus the word *laudator* is not in a strict sense derived from *laudare*. The *tor* type must have become fixed long before there was

any verb or noun like *laus* or *laudo*. Such forms as *actor*, *genitor*, were early developed in the language and had become attached to *agere* and *gignere* as nouns of agency for those verbs. So on the same pattern were produced *laudator*, *auditor*, and the like. All this depends on the principle that composition and stem formation preceded in idea and type any inflexion or distinction of parts of speech whatsoever.

Our principles then are :

First. Stem formation by successive addition of suffixes.

Second. The fusing together of two or more of these suffixes so as to make a new available one.

Third. The specialization of the meanings of the words at any stage of their development.

Fourth. Derivation proceeds by stems and antedates inflexion and parts of speech.

In view of these principles, when we find the long words which are so characteristic of Latin, the natural presumption is that (apart from obvious composition) the words have been built up by continuous further formation by means of the living elements existing in the language, and unless some controlling reason appears to the contrary, this presumption is to be taken as true. As the suffixes are for the most part of pronominal origin we must, in analyzing a word, take off successively from the end the recognizable suffixes and discover the stems or the various steps through which the word has passed in its further formation.

Now it is noticeable in Latin that among the numerous derivatives there are a number of sets or series of words, in which each word has the same final letters with different letters in the body of the word, but with only slight differences in meaning. We have, for instance, *figura* (the only one of its kind) alongside of *pictura* (one of a large number). If we proceed by the method above indicated, we find in one case a root *fig* + stem-suffix *u* + stem-suffix *ra*, in the other *pig* + *tu* + *ra*. It seems obvious that we have here two differently formed stems continued by the same suffix *ra*.

In a pair of somewhat similar formation, *maturus* and *Matuta*, the same stem is continued by means of different suffixes. Compare this

†*matu-* with *mane*, and we see *ma + tu* and *ma + ne*. So we may conclude that the much-used *tura* is a compound suffix formed of *tu + ra* and is really the feminine of *tu + ro*.¹

Again we have *rationalis*, *rationabilis*, and *rationabiliter* (implying a †*rationabilis*). We instantly recognize *ration + ā + lis*, *ration + a + bilis*, and *rationā + bilis*. This process, which is a well-known one, ought to be carried still further, so that the ultimate analysis of the last form should be, on the same principle, *ra + ti + on + co + no + a* (representing the formative elements of a verb stem, treated, however, according to old patterns as a productive stem in conformity with the fourth principle above) + *bo + lis*. We notice in the process that *ra + ti* may be bracketed, as in *mens, mentis*; that *ti + on* may be bracketed, as in *mentio, mentionis*; that *co + no* may be bracketed, as in *lenocinium*; and that *bo + lis* are fused in the same manner. These again are often fused with *ā*, as we ultimately get the practical suffix in our *bearable*. So the steps are †*ratis*, *ratio*, †*rationcinus*, *rationcinor*, *rationcinabilis* (as implied in the adverb). It is to be noticed that in any single word we can rarely be sure of the chronology, so as to know whether the fusion of the suffixes came before or after the formation of the particular word, but by comparison we may always be sure of the type, and may confidently by means of daggers give the typical intermediate steps. This to my mind is the only proper way of analyzing words so as to give certain conclusions. Let us apply it to less obvious cases.

Some most difficult series are those in

lis	bilis	—	tilis
ris	bris	cris	tris
lus (lum)	bulum	culum	—
rus	brum	crum	trum

As we see, the letters vary in the middle, but the last elements are the same. The words in each of these series have nearly the same meaning, and in view of the principles laid down we may assume on the face of the matter that the varying letters come from different stems, *i.e.* from the use of different suffixes at some stage of the pro-

¹ The length of the *u* is only incidental, and need not be considered here.

gressive development of the words. They differ from each other just as the words

	<i>ferax</i>	<i>felix</i>	<i>ferox</i>	<i>fiducia</i>
or	<i>opacus</i>	<i>apricus</i>	—	<i>caducus</i>

which have the same *x* or *cus* ending, but are formed from different verb stems.

Let us see, then, whether we have any warrant for assuming the successive stems and the successive suffixes in these groups, as we found them in *Auso*, *Auruncus*, † *Aurunculus Aurunculeius*.

We take in the first series, say, *fragilis*, *nobilis*, *versatilis*. According to our first principle, these have been made by continuous further formation. As elements we have a root *frag*; we have a common suffix *o/a*. These have given us *fragus* (cf. *silvifragus*). We have also a suffix *ilis*. This gives *fragilis*, "breakable," a type which is well represented in the language (cf. *agilis*, *habilis*, *docilis*, *bibilis*). We may notice in passing that in accordance with our third principle the type has become specialized in the sense of passive capability, though no such sense seems inherent in the suffix. The words are adjectival in sense originally (cf. *herbilis* from *herba*). The type, however, has, as so often happens in Latin, been supplanted by other longer forms. Suppose we proceed in the same manner with the others. We have a stem *versato* (*versatus*), which seems to be treated exactly as the simpler form *fragus*. The result is naturally *versatilis*. This also remained as a type (cf. *coctilis*, *fissilis*, *flexilis*, *volatilis*), so that we finally have *fluviatilis*, "belonging to a river." The meaning of this last word is a clear indication that the original force of the compound ending *tilis* was an adjective one, not exactly defined in any one function, as it generally became later. The change in meaning may be illustrated by 'a catchy melody,' i.e. one easily caught. I can see no reason why we should not proceed in the same manner with *nobilis*. We have a root (or stem) *no*, as in *notus*. But here we haven't any † *nobus*. Still we do have *morbis*, *turbis*, *manubiae* (implying a † *manubus*), *tubus* (cf. *tumeo*), *tribus* (*tres*), *dubo* (*are*), *dubium*, *addubanum*, and *herba* (whence *herbilis*). We have also many forms which, treated on the same principle, show a *b* element as a component part. Such are *ber*, *bris*, *bre*; *ber*, *bra*, *brum*; *bulus*, *-a*, *-um*; *bundus*,

-a, -um; and we may probably reckon *trabes*, *trabea*, and *plebes*. We shall also find the same phenomena in the other series hereafter to be discussed. Why may we not, then, assume a †*nobus* (like *morbis*, *herba*, †*manubus*) further formed by *lis*, as in fact *herbilis* is formed?

The second series has for example *celeris*, *mediocris*, *celebris*, *equestris*. For variety we may also give *alebris*, *anclabris*, *October*, *tuber*. Proceeding as before, we have a stem *cele* obviously akin to *cello*.¹ Added to this we have *ri* (a well-known suffix, like *li* in the first series) making *celeris* often, phonetically, *celer*.

In the second word we have a stem *medio* and the common suffix *ko/a*, which would make †*mediocus*. This form is fortunately proved by *medioximus*, especially *medioxume*, an odd superlative of *mediocriter* (*medioc* + *timus*, cf. *oxime*). To this we may confidently add *ri* (cf. *li* in the first series) making *mediocris*. For a parallel to †*mediocus* we may cite *alica*, "spelt" from *alo*.

In *alebris* we have a stem akin to *alo*, precisely as we have *cele* in *celebris* and *celeris* from *cello*. The natural presumption would be that this stem was further formed with a suffix (see first principle), just as we have *alica* with the *ka* formation. If *alicris* had happened to result we should have seen the connection at once. But the *bo/a* formation was so meagerly retained that we are driven to conjecture. Still we have all the forms mentioned before,—*morbis*, *turba*, *herba*, and the analogies of the other suffixes. Particularly we may compare *manubiae* by the side of *manubrium*. It is to be noticed that the force of these comparisons grows in geometrical proportion with every additional analogy. Why may we not suppose an †*aleba* (or *bus*), like *morbis* and *turba*? This is now ready for a further formation with *ri* again, giving the form *alebris*, as we have it. (We may here compare *alibilis*, its synonym that later supplanted it.) In this way *bris* becomes a suffix to be used as in *muliebris*, *anclabris*, *October*, all with a general adjective meaning, and *tuber* specialized as a noun. These show that there was no definitive idea attached as yet to the termination.

For the *tris* formation, as in *palustris*, *equestris*, we have no direct

¹ The relation of this *e* to the *o* and *i* suffixes is not clear, but the interchange is a common one.

evidence except the frequency of the *ti*, *to*, *ta* suffixes, as well as that of the *ri* forms. All the Latin words in *tris* bear marks of imitation, as if formed by analogy, and all have an added *s*, evidently for an older *t*. This secondary character of these forms seems to point to an earlier Indo-European fusion of the elements into a new compound suffix, so that none of the existing forms are analyzable in such a manner as to show the intermediate steps. The frequency of the occurrence of these elements, however, points to the same process, only accomplished at an earlier period of the language. This view was held by Schleicher in regard to all this class of suffixes.

The third series is represented by *ago-lum*, "shepherd's staff" (cf. *coagulum*), *fibula* (or *lum*), *Redculus*, *ridiculus*, *sediculum*, *sudiculum*. Of these *ago-lum* is surely *ag* + *o* (cf. *prodigus*) + *lo* (as in *agilis*). For *fibula*, *subula*, and the like, we can refer to the *bo* formations already mentioned, especially *turba* and its diminutive *turbula*. Notice particularly *turbulentus*, in which no diminutive force is apparent. We may compare also *tubus*, *tubulus*, *tubulatio*, which can hardly be separated from the root *tu* in *tumeo* and *tuber*.

For this formation it is customary to resort to the I.-E. suffix *dhlos* (in Gr. *θλος*) producing the Latin form *fiblus*, *-a*, *-um*, and the like. But the idea of the insertion of the *o* (*u*) to make *bulus*, etc., seems purely arbitrary. The forms are not found syncopated except rarely, and the whole doctrine depends on the supposed analogy of *culum*, *clum*, which we shall discuss presently. It is certain that the Latins had a *bo* suffix to work with in all these series. It seems much more natural, therefore, to suppose *bo* + *lo*, whether the *b* comes from I.-E. *dh* or not (for which see later, p. 13). But why in the case of an obviously compound suffix we should assume the syncopated form as the original, we can hardly see, except on the favorite principle that the *difficilior lectio* must be the right one.

For the *c* formation *culus*, *cula*, *culum*, as in *Redculus*, *ridiculus*, *vehiculum*, etc., we have in the language the available suffixes *ko* and *lo*. So, then, it is difficult to see how *Redculus*, the name of a divinity having a shrine at the spot where Hannibal was supposed to have "turned back" from the attack on Rome, can be separated in formation from other adjectives in *culus*, *-a*, *-um*. We may easily

imagine a † *redicus*, like *manducus*, *apricus*, *amicus*, or a † *redicus*, like *focus*, *Marcus*, *medicus*, *alica*, *vomica*. This, further formed by *lus*, would be like *tumulus*, *reiculus*. The greater part of the *lus* formations, to be sure, are diminutive, but there are also many adjectives and nouns of this sort not diminutive. And even if more were so, that would be inconclusive when we consider the diminutive tendency of common speech, going as far back as *φίλον ἡτόρ*, and coming down to 'take your little medicine,' 'go and eat your little dinner,' in familiar slang. *Ridiculus*, again, must have been formed in the same manner, and we may compare *irridiculum*, "a laughing stock," which has every appearance of a noun of means and yet can hardly be separated from *ridiculus*. *Sediculum* also falls in here, as well as *tendicula*, "a stretcher." *Operculum* is surely not far off, and *verna-culus*, *Ianiculum*, and *Ocriculum* serve to show the adjectival character of the suffix.

The case is precisely the same with these words as if, having *iocus*, *ioculus*, we had, as has often happened, lost *iocus* entirely. We should then have to supply this word from the analogies of primary *ko* derivatives when we undertook to analyze *iocularis*. Now in the case of the *culum* words, we have with adjective meaning, either active or passive, *Rediculus*, *ridiculus*, *ioculus*, which must surely have been formed with *ko* + *lo*; we have an enormous number of *ko* and *c* formations with all sorts of meanings, chiefly agent, and we have pairs like *appendix* and *perpendiculum*, *pugnax* and *propugnaculum*, *vertex* and *deverticulum*, *tenax* and *tenaculum* (cited by Ter. Maurus), *retinacula* and also *tendicula*, "stretcher," before mentioned.

As to the diminutive forms, they are unquestionably built up as we have stated, — *iuvenis*, *iuvencus*, † *iuvenculus*. But it is customary to distinguish the forms in *culus* regularly diminutive from those in *culum* (supposed *clum*). There seems, however, no reason to separate the two forms. It is to be remembered that a diminutive is only a specially used adjective form. The formation of "greasy" and "woolly" is the same as that of "Willy" and "baby." A diminutive is regarded as not the thing itself but something like it, not a real "bear" but "bearish," not "white" but "whitish." We may also call attention to the tendency in rustic speech to substitute diminutives for regular names. See a very good discussion of this in Cooper,

Word Formation in the Latin Sermo Plebeius, Ginn & Company, 1895, p. 167. He particularly mentions tools and the like. Furthermore, the elements *ko*, *lo*, *yo*, and *on*, which are employed either alone or in various combinations for diminutives, are regular adjective terminations with a variety of meanings.

We may compare for the meanings of such adjectives *θήκη* (where the termination has almost an instrumental meaning), *raucus*, *paucus*, *caducus*, *bibax*, *ferox*, *averruncus*. See also above, *agolum*, *bibulus*. So also *socius*, *eximius*, *somnium*, and again *bibo* (*onis*), *gero*, *Strabo*, *Rufo*.

With all these indications it seems far better to accept the *culum*, *clum* formations as made by means of *ko* + *lo* rather than to hunt for any phonetic change from *t* to *c* in the suffix *tum*, which is the ordinary method of explaining them. To seek any other explanation for these forms than the one I have followed certainly seems *nodum quaerere in scirpo*. Even those who have adopted this arbitrary fancy are forced to assume a confusion of the two modes of formation in the minds of the Romans, which is to my mind an utterly unnecessary and arbitrary assumption.

If we conclude that the *culum* group is thus formed, the presumption is increased that *bulum* is formed in the same manner. We have already seen the probability that *bilis* and *bris* could be so developed, and we have seen traces of sufficient *bo* formations to serve as a groundwork for the added *lus*.

It seems, therefore, the most natural supposition, and to my mind the only possible one, that all these forms are directly produced as adjective formations by added suffixes. Originally of all genders, they have had various fates. The neuters became specialized as instrumental nouns, in which use they might well be more subject to syncope, as seems to be the case, through a natural tendency to differentiation such as we have in "through" and "thorough." But they are by no means universally syncopated and, on the other hand, *vinculum* is also syncopated, though not a *clum* form at all, any more than *agolum*.

In the same category with the other series we may now put *rus*, *ra*, *rum*; *cer*, *cra*, *crum*; *ber*, *bra*, *brum*; *ter*, *tra*, *trum*. The *rus* suffix was early specialized in a passive sense, so that active or neuter adjectives

tives of this stamp are somewhat rare. But we have *ruber* (cf. *rudhiras*), *liber* (cf. *ἐλεύθερος*), *gnarus* (cf. *ignarus*). Still the derivatives cannot be cited as having the prevailing tendency to an instrumental meaning like that of *crum* and *brum*. But if we bear in mind the third principle, that of specialization at various stages of development, there is no difficulty, nor need there be in any case. Adjective forms exist throughout the series, though they tend to become partially specialized.

As to the *crum* formation, everything that has been said of *cris* will apply to this also. Furthermore, *ludicer* (perhaps *pulcer*) points to an adjective-ending not different, except in the stem vowel, from *mediocris*.

For the *ber*, *bra*, *brum* series we have *creber*, *faber*, *Mulciber*, *dolabra*, *terebra*, *cribrum*. *Cerebrum* may be added, as well as *tenebrae*. The usual derivation of these words by which they are supposed to come from † *ceresrum* and † *temesra* has always seemed to me forced to the last degree. One can easily suppose the loss of *s*, but how *sr* could generate *br* it seems impossible to imagine. Why not assume a compound suffix *be-ro* (*bo* + *ro*, perhaps syncopated early), making adjectives under the general tendency to enlarge words by successive further formations? Nor is there any reason why *latebra* should not be formed in the same manner.

In connection with this formation we may mention as parallels † *ludiber* (implied in *ludibrium*), *ludicer* (not found in the nominative masculine), *ludibundus*. All these seem sufficient to show the adjective character of the forms, but the mode of development must depend upon the general principle as set forth under *bilis* and *bris*. We may add † *lucuber*, implied in *lucubro* (*are*), clearly with an adjective sense.

The words in *trum* cannot be separated from an I.-E. type in the face of Sk. *aritrām*, ἀροτρον, *aratrum*, but such a word as *iarpós* is sufficient to show the adjectival character of the formation and put it in the same category with the others. The only difference is that this compound suffix was fused earlier than some of the others (cf. Schleicher's view), and the specialization begun earlier. In other respects *tris* and *trum* do not differ from the rest of these forms.

So if we follow the analogy of *mediocris*, *alebris*, *alibilis*, etc., we

shall be almost forced to divide *crum* into *co + ro* and *brum* into *bo + ro*, so that the whole group of formations would be

Stem + <i>li</i>	+ <i>bo + li</i>	—————	+ <i>to + li</i>
" + <i>ri</i>	+ <i>bo + ri</i>	+ <i>co + ri</i>	+ <i>to + ri</i>
" + <i>lus</i>	+ <i>bo + lo</i>	+ <i>co + lo</i>	+ <i>to + ro</i>

No doubt the schematising tendency of the Latin mind tended to perpetuate this variety and regularity where they are not preserved in other languages, and the fondness for further formation tended in the same direction. But at any rate this extraordinary parallelism is too marked to be overlooked or explained away by far-fetched reasoning or possible phonetic changes. It seems impossible not to see in this parallelism the same processes at work which appear in

	<i>ferax</i>	<i>felix</i>	<i>ferox</i>	<i>fiducia</i>
and in	<i>opacus</i>	<i>apricus</i>	—————	<i>caducus</i> .

Nor does it make any difference that Latin *b* corresponds to I.-E. *dh*, as I shall endeavor to show later.

This investigation has been conducted solely on Latin ground, as I think all such investigations should be until that ground has been fully explored. Yet no satisfactory conclusions can be reached without reckoning with Indo-European comparative grammar. In fact, it was not till linguistic science became comparative that any such investigations have been possible. But the comparison ought not to be applied until all the data of the particular language have been fully considered. It is the violation of this principle that has vitiated the usual doctrines in regard to these classes of words. Because, forsooth, some of these terminations were found to be Indo-European it was at once concluded that all must be. Hence the resort to *tlon* and *dhlon* with the necessary forced accommodation and ingenious phonetic devices. But the time to employ Indo-European comparison is after we have put in order the Latin facts. What we have thus far set down as natural inferences from the Latin seems to me unassailable. Now what further light does comparative etymology shed on the problems? First, the suffixes *tro/trā* as well as *tri* must be recognized as already existing in Indo-European. So also *tlō/tlā* and *dhlo/dhlā*. Moreover, Latin *b* in these formations must be held to correspond to I.-E. *dh*. Further than this there is nothing

conclusive. Are we to assume, then, at once that *trom tri*, *tlom dhlom* must have been the only original suffixes and the only original forms of them at that? I confess that is a jump that I have never been able to make in spite of the gregarious habits of comparative philologists. For several years I have been in the habit of telling my pupils that the orthodox doctrine was so and so (especially in regard to the *tlom clom* fancy), and that they must hold it as a working hypothesis till it was disproved, but that I myself did not believe a word of it, and hoped that soon somebody would show its fallacy. In time, no doubt, the absurdity of the *tlom clom* doctrine will force itself upon somebody else and we shall then have an original *epochemachende* discovery.

Meantime, I wish in this paper to help bring about this desirable result. The real gist of the whole matter is that the *bo/ba* suffix, from whatever source derived, remained in Latin a living element of formation, used alone, as in *morbus*, *turba*, *herba*, *manubiae*, or combined with others, as in *ber* (*bris*), *ber* (*bri*), *bilis bundus*, and *bo* (*onis*). The same is true of *to/ta*, *ko/ka*, *ri*, *li*, and *on/en*. Hence we may be allowed to recognize these elements, simple or compound, in Latin etymology. If any other language distorted them or lost them, their non-appearance proves nothing; it is only an absence of evidence. *Tenebrae* by the side of *tamisra* only means a different suffix, just as we have *plenus*, *-pletus*, *plerique* side by side. So *terebra* by the side of *τέρερπον*. So again, in Latin we have both *palpebra* and *palpetra*.

One of the most significant bits of testimony in regard to *bo/ba* lies in the words *longābo* (or *ābo*), *apexābo* (or *ābo*) preserved by Varro, "kinds of sausage," evidently so named from the skins in which they were made. These forms show clearly that they were produced by a free employment of a compound suffix, *bo*, i.e. *bo* + *on*, evidently in common use. Such words could not be made from *longus* and *apex* unless the suffix were a well-known one, like *lus* or *culus* or *tor*. Now compare this with *turba*, *turbo*, in which the elements appear entirely distinct. One cannot escape the conclusion that there must have been many words with the *bo/ba* suffix, and others already further formed with *bo* (*onis*), in order to give rise to such analogical formations as *longabo* and *apexabo*.

Again, whatever origin we assign to the Latin *b*, and whatever became of the aspirate *dh*, it seems certain, in the light of the facts and inferences above given, that the Romans must have had, at some time in their development, a *bo/a* suffix to work with, and it seems impossible to doubt that they used it, as they did *ko/ka*, *ro/ri*, and *lo/li*, and all the rest of their inherited material, for their favorite further formation of adjective words, and that these words tended to become specialized in various meanings. This theory and this alone explains the remarkable parallelism in these forms.

To sum up this part of the discussion, it seems clear that in accordance with the principles laid down at the outset, all these parallel types of words have been formed by the successive addition of well-known simple suffixes to roots or stems; that the stems (or words) thus successively formed have remained in the language in sufficient numbers to be ready for further formation, and thus to give the type for new compound suffixes with more or less specialized meanings; that in course of time, and with the vicissitudes of language, some of the earlier types have been partially lost, though enough indications of them have been preserved, in one form or another, to justify the assurance of their previous existence; and that ultimately compound suffixes have arisen, specialized to a high degree in some cases, which remained as permanent agents in the development of the language. It is therefore unnecessary to hunt for correspondences in other languages, because the Latin forms, when rightly treated, explain themselves, so that the devices of *c* for *t*, confusion of really conscious formations with Indo-European phonetic variations, and all other linguistic mare's-nests, become superfluous and futile.

There is one other series that has been more discussed than any other on account of its supposed difficulties. But if it is considered in the light of what has been said, it seems absolutely simple, — the series (*ger*) *undus*, (*ludi*) *bundus*, (*rubi*) *cundus*. We may even add a *tundus*, as we shall see later, only this did not take root as a regular suffix.

Now if we follow the method we have suggested with these words, we shall analyze their forms thus: *ger* + *o* + *on* + *dus*, *lud* + *o* + *bo* + *on* + *dus*, *rub* + *o* + *co* + *on* + *dus*, *i.e.* *secus*, † *seco*, *secondus*; *ludus*, † *lu-*

dibus, † *ludibo*, *ludibondus*; *rubus*, † *rubicus* (cf. *rubico*), *Rubicon*, *rubicundus*. To these we may add *rotundus*, — *ro* + *ta* + *on* + *dus*, i.e. *ro-tundus*. Now if we compare these with the others, we can see the same parallelism.

<i>coagu-lum</i>	<i>fundi-bulum</i>	<i>oper-culum</i>	—
<i>agi-lis</i>	<i>ali-bilis</i>	—	<i>versa-tilis</i>
<i>ac-ris</i>	<i>ale-bris</i>	<i>medio-cris</i>	<i>illus-tris</i>
<i>gerun-dus</i>	<i>ludi-bundus</i>	<i>rubi-cundus</i>	<i>ro-tundus</i>

Let us see, then, what examples we have for the intermediate stages in this series. We have *morigerus*, *gero* (*onis*), "carrier," and finally *gerundus*, the older form of the gerund. We have *morbus* (perhaps originally *moribus*) and *turba*. Then, though we have no † *morbo* (*onis*), yet we do have *turbo*, and all the forms implied by *longabo*, *apexabo*, and finally *moribundus*. We have *rubus*, and though no † *rubicus*, yet *rubico*, which implies its existence, *Rubicon*, *rubicundus*. These combinations, it seems to me, are impossible to assail, and we may consider this series completely analyzed so far as its form is concerned.

GER, <i>gerus</i>		<i>gero</i> (<i>onis</i>)	<i>gerundus</i>
MOR, † <i>mori-</i>	† <i>moribus</i>	† <i>moribo</i> (<i>onis</i>)	<i>moribundus</i>
(<i>morior</i>)	(<i>morbus</i>)	(<i>turbo</i>)	
RUB, <i>rubus</i>	† <i>rubicus</i>	<i>Rubicon</i>	<i>rubicundus</i>
	<i>rubico</i> (<i>are</i>)		
RO (?), <i>rota</i>		† <i>roto</i> (<i>onis</i>)	<i>rotundus</i>

One objection might be made to this combination, namely, that we have *anfereno* in Umbrian, which could not phonetically come from *ferondus*, as *ferendus* might in Latin. This objection instantly disappears when we consider that the *on* suffix is precisely one of those in which the graded vowel or ablaut is most conspicuous. So *on*, *en*, and *n* (alone) are parallel forms which probably stood side by side when the type of this formation was fixed. At any rate, either was available for further formation, and probably both were taken in Latin, perhaps only *en* in Umbrian.

We have now only to account reasonably for the meaning and use of the gerund proper. For this purpose we must refer to our third principle, — the adjectival sense of these derived words. Fortu-

nately we have a few words of this sort which retain their earlier meaning, *i.e.* a meaning which would naturally result from the above combination, as *rota*, "a wheel," † *roto (onis)*, "rolling," *rotundus*, "round"; -*secus (pedisecus)*, † *seco (onis)*, *secundus*, "following," "second," so *volvendus*, "rolling," and so *ante conditam condendamve urbem*. † *Calus/ā* (from which *calo -are*), *calo -onis*, "orderly," "soldier's servant" (cf. *calator*, same meaning), *Kalendae*, certainly with no gerundive signification; to these may be added *merenda*, "noon meal," and *turunda*, "a kind of cake," of uncertain development, but certainly not gerundives. So also *flammandi*, "being burned." The *bundus* and *cundus* forms remained adjective, but *bundus* approaches a participle in that it often takes an accusative. It is not at all surprising that these adjectives should have tended to become active while the gerund proper went the other way. We may compare the suffix *rus*, which yields both active and passive adjectives, and even *tus* is occasionally found active, as in *potus*, *pransus*, and so also *oletum*, "midden." Cf. also *tenuatur habendo*, "by wearing."

How, then, could the *undus endus* form become gerundive? The answer is: In the same manner that nouns become infinitives and supines, and adjectives become participles. A scheme of conjugation in its origin is not purposely made by grammarians, but certain forms are associated with the verb by use until they are habitually thought of as a part of it and then are gathered together by the learned and taught as formal grammar. So we may suppose a number of adjectives, probably neuter or passive, in sense like *rotundus*, *secundus*, *volvendus*, so used as to become attached, as nominal forms, to the verbs with which they are etymologically connected.

Then the genius of the language makes them a part of the verb and they follow its development, and one can be made from any verb without the intervening steps.

Following this the first conjugation would seem to require an *a* instead of an *e* and we have *amandus*, and so with the other forms *capiendus*, *audiendus*. The step in the meaning from a neuter, as *volvendus*, through, perhaps, *secundus* to *condendus*, a real passive, is an easy one. However the next step from present passive to necessity was made, we at any rate know that it was made, and a hint is given as to the manner by the use of the continued present for future in

many languages and especially in Latin. After this, from *will* to *shall* is a very short step. We may compare the use of the future for the imperative. The gerund has long been recognized as the impersonal use of the gerundive (I printed it in my grammar in 1872). Just as *bellum pugnatum est* gave rise to a *pugnatum est* in which the subject disappears as indefinite and not needing expression, a usage not different in principle from 'so it is said' in English, so from *urbis condendae* ("of a city being built") comes *condendi* ("of it being built") where the abstract idea of the action or 'suffering' stands in the same relation to the thought that the combined idea of the action and its object (or subject) has in the gerundive form. After a while this abstract action, expressed impersonally, takes a new object, as has happened in many cases in Latin and Greek (οὐχ) ἐκόντας ἀδικητέον (ἔσσι), *agitandum est vigilias*. Such a transformation process serves to explain the curious construction of the gerundive with a genitive instead of an accusative, *eius* ("of her") *videndi*, *conservandi sui*, and the like. It is of the same kind as *metuens frigoris*, *metus frigoris*, along with *metuens frigus*. Only a transitive verb can take the true passive construction in agreement as in *conservandae urbis*. So while the impersonal gerundive is acquiring the power of governing an accusative it wavers between adjective and verb, so as to take a genitive like a noun or adjective, and this construction was preserved in a few combinations in Latin, though the main development went in another direction. Conversely this usage tends to confirm our explanation of the process of development.

It is worth while in passing to note, in connection with the development of the gerund, the curious tendency of the Latin to unite in one idea a noun and participle. This appears in the *post reges exactos* construction as well as in the gerund (cf. *ante conditam condendamve urbem*). It appears again in the *Caesar mortuus* combination used as subject. In the ablative absolute *Caesare mortuo*, the usage has given rise to an impersonal construction appearing as an adverb *consulto*, *auspicato*, and not differing much from *videndo* as used in its free occurrence as ablative of manner, whence comes the Italian present participle. The common construction *quid opus est facto* is still nearer the gerund in its essence, and must have been developed from usages like *hoc volo factum*, where the same union of noun and

participle is noticeable. The construction *aliquid locare faciendum* also shows this union, and very likely formed one of the steps towards the use of the gerund as a participle of necessity.

To conclude, it seems to me that a theory which agrees with all the facts in Latin and is not contradicted by comparative grammar must be the right one. It therefore seems certain that the gerundive with its family *bundus* and *cundus* has been developed in the same manner as the other series, namely, by successive further formations, resulting in a verbal adjective (active or passive), and that this adjective has been attached to the verb, first as a present passive participle which the Latin had lost, then becoming a future passive participle (?), and finally a participle of necessity, as in its use as nominative and accusative. That, further, the gerund (as is generally recognized) is nothing more than the impersonal of the gerundive taking a case according to the other uses of *ποιητέον* and *agitandum*.

THE MOUTH-PIECE OF THE Αὐλός.

BY ALBERT A. HOWARD.

THE description given by Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iv. 11, of the way in which the mouth-piece of the αὐλός was made, is apparently much more detailed and more complete than has hitherto been supposed to be the case.

The mouth-piece there described is, beyond any reasonable doubt, a double reed of the kind used in the modern bassoon. This is shown by a variety of evidence,¹ and particularly by the technical name ζεύγος² (cf. §§ 4 and 6), which must mean a mouth-piece made of a pair of similar parts. That this pair was a pair of reeds (γλωτται) is shown by the words τὸ στόμα τῶν γλωττῶν³ at the end of § 4, for if these reeds belonged to two separate pipes the plural τὰ στόματα would have to be used.

The further evidence in Theophrastus would seem to indicate that the mouth-piece was, in his time, made in exactly the same way in which, after a lapse of more than two thousand years, the mouth-piece of the bassoon is now made. The process to-day is as follows. From a piece of cane, twice the length of the desired mouth-piece, a strip of the requisite width is split and the interior pulpy surface is

¹ Cf. The Αὐλός or Tibia, *Harv. Stud.* iv. pp. 23-25.

² The definition of ζεύγος given in the lexicon of Liddell and Scott is certainly incorrect in so far as it relates to the αὐλός. In the singular the word implies a pair, and it would be absurd to use the plural ζεύγη to denote a pair of pipes. Furthermore, in the passage cited in support of this definition, Theophrastus is speaking, not of the instruments themselves, but of the mouth-pieces, as is clear from the context and particularly from § 6, where the cane has been cut into strips about six inches long (much too short for any instrument). In the other writers who use this word the reference is always to the mouth-piece and never to the instrument. The plural ζεύγη must therefore mean mouth-pieces, ordinarily a pair of them.

³ Cf. von Jan's emendation of Aristotle, *de audib.* p. 801 b 33, τὰ γὰρ ἔχοντα τῶν ζευγέων (MS. δευτέρων) τὰς γλώσσας πλαγίας, etc., *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1894, col. 209.

gouged out. The strip is next scraped in the middle of its outer surface until it will bend easily lengthwise; the scraped part is well moistened, and the ends of the strip are bent round until they touch each other. The ends thus brought together are wound with strong thread and curved by pressure into a cylindrical tube which can be attached to the instrument. The two flattened surfaces caused by bending the strip of cane are then scraped very thin and the mouth-piece is finished by cutting the strip at the bend.

Theophrastus tells us in § 6 that the strip of cane, from which in his time the mouth-piece was made, was at least two palms, 14.8 cm. long, a length which is nearly one fourth that of the longest pipe found at Pompeii, and nearly one half that of either of the Elgin pipes in the British Museum. It will be readily seen that this length is out of all proportion to the length of the pipes themselves.

The representations in works of art invariably show a short mouth-piece, and my own experiments in determining the scales of the ancient instruments which have been preserved led me to choose a mouth-piece not longer in any case than 8 cm. Two mouth-pieces of Egyptian pipes, one of which is certainly, the other probably, of the double-reed type, found in the ruins of Panopolis and described¹ by Victor Loret, are respectively 7.6 cm. and 8 cm. in length. The mouth-piece of the modern bassoon is about 7 cm. in length.

This evidence leads naturally to the conclusion that the finished mouth-piece of the αἰλός was only about half as long as the strip of cane described by Theophrastus. Furthermore, both reeds of the ζεύγος were made from the same joint or strip of cane, as is shown by § 7, συμφωνεῖν δὲ τὰς γλώττας τὰς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεσογονατίου τὰς δὲ ἄλλας οὐ συμφωνεῖν;² while the words which follow, describing the

¹ One of these mouth-pieces is described in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1889, p. 213, the other in a paper read before the *Société d'anthropologie de Lyon*, June 3, 1893. The one described in the second paper is of the double-reed type, and though somewhat longer, closely resembles the double reed of the modern bassoon. It is of course possible that the mouth-pieces of Greek and Egyptian pipes were not made in the same way, but it is hardly probable since the instruments themselves are very like each other.

² I interpret these words to mean that reeds from the same joint of cane, if made into a mouth-piece, will vibrate in unison, but that others will not. The

final operation in the making of the mouth-piece, seem to imply that the strip of cane has been doubled upon itself : *τμηθέντος δὲ δίχα τοῦ μεσογονατίου τὸ στόμα τῆς γλώττης ἑκατέρας γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ καλάμου τομὴν*, for if the strip is cut at the point where it was bent, the mouth of each reed is at the point where the cut was made, agreeing exactly with the statement of Theophrastus.

The only apparent objection to this explanation is caused by the words *καὶ τὴν μὲν (γλώττην) πρὸς τῇ ῥίζῃ ἀριστεράν εἶναι τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βλαστοὺς δεξιάν*, which follow immediately the words *τὰς δὲ ἄλλας οὐ συμφωνεῖν*, and have always been interpreted as meaning respectively the reed of the left and the reed of the right αὐλός. This interpretation is perhaps due to a passage in Pliny, *N. H.* xvi. 172, *sed tum ex sua quemque tantum harundine congruere persuasum erat et eam quae radicem antecesserat laevae tibiae convenire, quae cacumen dexterarum*, which seems to be an attempt to give the substance of the statement in Theophrastus.¹ The words ἀριστεράν and δεξιάν are, however, feminine, and must refer to γλώττην, not to αὐλόν. It is hardly conceivable that Theophrastus should have been so careless in his use of language as to speak of right and left reeds when he meant the reed of the right pipe and the reed of the left pipe. It is far more likely either that Pliny misunderstood the passage of Theophrastus in this point, as he certainly did in others, or that he copied it, without verification, from carelessly written notes and excerpts such as are described in the letters of the younger Pliny, iii. 5. 11.

The whole difficulty disappears at once, however, if we suppose that Theophrastus had before him, while writing, an illustration either of the plant itself or of one of the joints suitable for making a mouth-

reeds must be those of a single ζεύγος and not those of a pair of ζεύγη, for on any other supposition the statement of Theophrastus is obviously untrue, as is shown by every orchestral performance in which two oboes or two bassoons are employed, since the mouth-pieces of the two instruments are probably never made even from the same cane. The two reeds of a single mouth-piece are, however, always made from the same joint of cane, not for the reason given by Theophrastus, but because it is easier so to make them.

¹ Owing to the fact that this passage is quoted by Pliny, we are shut off from the regular refuge in cases of difficulty, explaining the objectionable words in the Greek as a gloss.

piece, or if we accept the view of von Christ ¹ that the writings of our author partake of the nature of "Kollegienhefte," and imagine this particular lecture to have been accompanied by practical illustrations or by drawings.

The most natural way to bend the strip of cane would be to take the part nearest the root in the left hand, the upper end in the right hand, and then to bring the ends together, when they would conform exactly to the statement made by Theophrastus.

¹ *Geschichte der Griech. Literatur*, § 373.

METRICAL PASSAGES IN SUETONIUS.

BY ALBERT A. HOWARD.

A CONSIDERABLE number of passages in the "Lives of the Caesars" conform so closely to metrical rules, and in content are of such a nature that the conclusion is forced upon us, either that they are conscious quotations from poetry, or that Suetonius, for some reason which is not perfectly clear, dressed them in poetical garb. Attention has been called to some of these passages in an article by the late Professor Lane, in the last volume of the *Studies*, but apparently it was not his intention to cite all possible examples of this peculiarity.

Not all of the passages which conform to metrical rules were intended as poetry. Some of them are almost certainly to be regarded as the result of accident, occurring as they do in most prosaic surroundings, and showing in their contents nothing of a poetical nature. Thus in *Aug.* 25, *libertino milite . . . bis usus est : semel ad praesidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium, iterum ad tutelam ripae Rheni fluminis*, the words in italics are, without change, a faultless senarius. The rhythm of the words, owing to the correspondence of ictus and word-accent, is obvious, and yet it is almost equally obvious that the passage was not intended as poetry. The rhythm would not be so conspicuous were it not for the word *fluminis*, which completes the senarius, and it is worthy of note that in nine other places in which Suetonius mentions the Rhine this word is not added, and that in one place only, *Iul.* 25, where a contrast seems desirable, is it added. Again, in *Aug.* 32, the words *ac plerisque iudicandi munus detractantibus* are, without change, a trochaic septenarius, with the regular diaeresis after the fourth foot, and with ictus and word-accent everywhere coincident, so that the rhythm of the passage, there being no elisions, can hardly escape notice. The sense of the passage is, to say the least, unpoetical. A third extract in *Cal.* 10, *tantique in avum et qui iuxta erant obsequii, ut non immerito sit dictum, nec servum meliorem*

ullum, nec deteriore dominum fuisse, shows in the italicized words, without change, a dactylic hexameter plus the words *dominum fuisse*, and if changed to the direct form, by transposing a single word, may be read as senarii :

nec sérvus melior úllus nec dominús fuit
detérior.

These words of the orator Passienus are, however, quoted in slightly different order by Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 20, *neque meliorem unquam servum neque deteriore dominum fuisse*, and as here there is no suggestion whatever of metrical form, it is hardly conceivable that Suetonius intended to quote them as poetry.

There is one quotation which seems to occupy a middle ground between poetry and prose. It is the passage at the end of *Aug.* 4, where we are told that the poet, Cassius Parmensis, in a letter addressed the following insulting words to Augustus: *Materna tibi farinast ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino: hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius*. Without change the first half of this extract may be read as senarii, and we know from the poems of Catullus that the iambic¹ metre is peculiarly adapted to this vituperative form of address. The word *farina*, in the sense which it here has, occurs in literature only in Persius 5. 115, although as a slang expression it was possibly common enough in colloquial language. This fact alone is hardly sufficient evidence on which to base the assertion that this meaning of *farina* is poetical, and that therefore the quotation is poetical, but there is other evidence which points in this same direction. The whole passage has a poetical tinge; *finxit*, meaning to touch or handle, is found rarely, and then only in poetry; *Nerulonensis*, if this is really the word used by Cassius as an indirect allusion to Thuri, is pretty certainly poetical; and there is no word in the entire quotation which cannot be introduced into iambic verse. It seems incredible that any one should have used such insulting language as is here quoted in a prose letter to Augustus.

¹ Ribbeck, *Römische Dichtung*, ii. 4, says of Cassius Parmensis: "Wie sein giftiger Prosabrief an Octavian ganz im Stil des Antonius gehalten war, so denkt man sich seine Verse am besten als Epigramme im Tone Catullischer Distichen oder Iamben."

tus, and equally incredible that a poet should have written a verse and a half of iambic poetry without recognizing the fact that he had done so.

The most obvious method of attacking the emperor was by means of verse, patterned after the model in Catullus 29, and it is of interest to note that in *Aug.* 68 and 70 we find no less than three such attacks in iambic verse.

It seems, therefore, not improbable that the entire letter of Cassius was, in its original form, in iambic verse, and that Suetonius, without attempting to preserve the entire context, quoted from it so much only as illustrated his remarks about the alleged occupation of the emperor's grandfather, accidentally preserving nearly two verses in their original form.

The following passages, treated either as scraps of verse or as complete verses, seem, from the poetical nature of their contents and often from their sententious character, to justify the conclusion that they are conscious quotations from poetry, changed in a few instances into indirect discourse, to adapt them to the construction of the sentence in which they are introduced.

Iul. 32, Tunc Caesar *Eatur* inquit *quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas vocat. Iacta alea est.*

Professor Lane reversed the order of the words *inimicorum iniquitas* and treated the quotation as composed of senarii. Without change in the order of words we have one complete iambic octonarius and part of a second :

*Eátur quo deórum ostenta et ínimicorum íniquitas
vocát. Iacta alea ést.*

The actual words of Caesar seem, however, to have been *iacta alea esto*, as appears from Plutarch, *Caes.* 32. 6, ἀνεπρίφθω κύβος, and from Appian, *B. C.* ii. 35, ὁ κύβος ἀνεπρίφθω, cf. Petronius, *de bell. civ.* 174, iudice fortuna *cadat alea*, and Erasmus, on the authority of these passages, proposed in his edition the reading *esto*, without observing the metrical character of the quotation. This change would suit, even better than the accepted text, the supposition that Suetonius is quoting poetry, though this fact, in itself, is hardly sufficient ground for emending the MS. reading.

The quotation may well have been taken from some tragedy. The events of the Civil War were treated in epic poetry by several different writers, and at least two so-called tragedies dealing with incidents of this war are mentioned in literature: the *Iter* of Balbus (Cic. *ad Fam.* x. 32. 3) and the *Cato* of Curiatius Maternus (*dial. de orat.* 2, 3), while many of the historical details of the war, which have been preserved by Plutarch, Appian, and Suetonius, have a decidedly dramatic coloring which might fairly lead to the supposition that a considerable mass of tragedy, not mentioned in the literature, dealt with this subject. It is at least significant that all of the dramatic scenes of the Civil War are drawn from other sources than the Commentaries of Caesar himself, who does not even mention the crossing of the Rubicon.

Aug. 87, Cum aliquos numquam soluturos significare vult, *ad Kal. Graecas soluturos* ait.

In the direct form the italicized words are the beginning of a trochaic verse, ictus and word-accent everywhere coinciding:

Ád Kalendas Graécas solvent.

A little later in the same chapter the words:

Conténti simus hóc Catone,

are the beginning of an iambic verse.

Tib. 24, Impudentissimo mimo † nunc adhortantis amicos increpans ut *ignaros, quanta bellua esset imperium.*

The word *mimo* is an emendation of J. F. Gronov for *animo*, the only MS. reading. If the emendation is accepted, it follows that the emperor is quoting from a poetical source, although the words in the order in which they stand are void of rhythm. The original may have been a senarius:

Impérium belua ígnoratis quánta sit,

although it must be admitted that this is a somewhat violent attempt to restore it.

Tib. 24, Querens *miseram et onerosam iniungi sibi servitutem.*

In the direct form by changing *et* to *atque* we may read the quotation as a senarius:

Misera átque onerosa iniúngitur mihi sérvitus,

and, in spite of an irregular caesura, I am inclined to think that this is a genuine bit of verse.

Tib. 25, ut saepe *lupum se auribus tenere* diceret.

Perhaps this proverb was common enough in prose, but a Roman could hardly help remembering Ter. *Phormio* 506, *auribus teneo lupum*.

Tib. 28, Subinde iactabat *in civitate libera linguam mentemque liberas esse debere*.

The words of the emperor, if changed to the direct form, are parts of two trochaic septenarii :

In civitate libera
lingua mensque liberae esse debent.

There is but one case of elision and but one substitution in the entire passage ; ictus and word-accent everywhere coincide, so that the rhythmical nature of the quotation is obvious. Possibly these are *versus populares*.

Tib. 62, Identidem *felicem Priamum* vocabat, *quod superstes omnium suorum extitisset*.

These words in direct discourse are a faultless trochaic septenarius :

Félix Priamus quód superstes ómnium suorum éxtitit,

and might well have formed a part of some well-known tragedy.

Cal. 29, Gallis Graecisque aliquot uno tempore condemnatis, gloriabatur, *Gallograeciam se subegisse*.

These words are, in the direct form, the beginning of a trochaic septenarius :

Gállograeciám subegi,

and were possibly intended as a parody of the famous *versus populares* sung in Caesar's Gallic triumph ; cf. *Iul.* 49, *Gallias Caesar subegit*, etc.

Nero 49, Causatus *nondum adesse fatalem horam*.

In the direct form these words are perhaps the beginning of a trochaic septenarius :

Nóndum adest fatális hora.

Nero was so thoroughly the actor that it need cause no surprise to

find him quoting tragedy when his life is hanging in the balance ; almost with his dying breath he quotes from the *Iliad* :

Ἰππων μὲν ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτόπος οὐατα βάλλει.

Vit. 8, Bono, inquit, *animo estote ! nobis adluxit.*

These words of Vitellius, uttered to allay the anxiety of his adherents who regarded as an evil omen a fire which had suddenly broken out in the dining room of the headquarters, may well be a quotation from some tragedy. Without change they are an incomplete senarius, lacking only the last foot, which was perhaps the word *deus* :

Bono ánimo estote ! Nóbis adluxit [deus].

Vesp. 16, Quidam natura cupidissimum tradunt, idque exprobratum ei a sene bubulco, qui, negata sibi gratuita libertate . . . proclamaverit, *vulpem pilum mutare non mores.*

The words in italics suggest a possible moral to some well-known fable about the fox in disguise ; possibly the same puzzling fable which is referred to in Hor. *Sat. ii. 3. 186*,

astuta ingenuum vulpes imitata leonem,

and in Persius v. 116,

pelliculam veterem retines et fronte politus
astutam vapido servas sub pectore vulpem,

or, in another form, the wolves in sheep's clothing of St. Matthew viii. 15.

Assuming a fable in poetic form after the style of Phaedrus, the words of the quotation are, without change, an incomplete senarius, which may be completed as follows :

[Fábula haec]
vulpém pilum mutáre non morés [docet],

or in the direct form :

Vulpés pilum mutáre non morés [potest].

An exact metrical equivalent for either of these forms may be found in Phaedrus v. 7. 10 :

Inter manus sublatus et multum gemens.

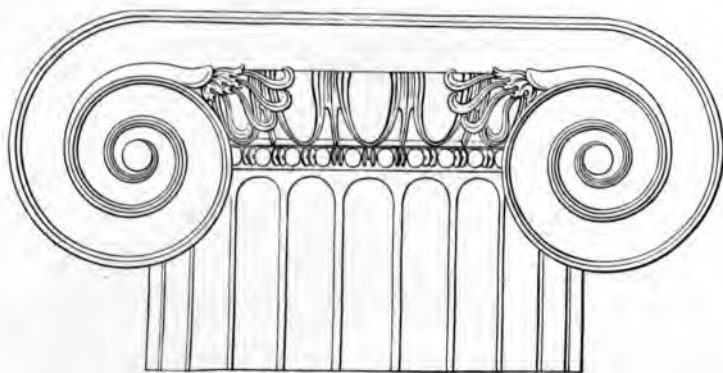


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

IONIC CAPITALS IN ASIA MINOR.


BY W. N. BATES.

CHIEPIEZ in his *Histoire Critique des Origines et de la Formation des Ordres Grecs* (p. 272) says that the volutes of Ionic columns in Asia Minor were usually connected by a straight line.¹ This statement is repeated by Collignon in his *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque* (p. 58). With a view to testing its accuracy I have examined all accessible illustrations of different Ionic buildings in Asia Minor and as a result have found that the statement requires correction.

The volutes were connected by a straight line (Fig. 1) in the following buildings: in the temple of Dionysus at Teos (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. I, ch. I, Pl. 2; pt. IV, Pl. 23, 24, 25); in the temple of Dionysus or Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. III, ch. II, Pl. 3, 16, 17, 18; also Texier and Pullan, *Ruins of Asia Minor*, Pl. 26, 28, 29); in the temple of Zeus at Aizani (Texier and Pullan, Pl. 10, 13, 14, 15); in the temple of Apollo at Sagalassus (Lanckoroński, *Les Villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie*, II. Pl. 25, also p. 157); in the temple at Termessus (Lanckoroński, II. Pl. 2, also p. 50); in the Propylaeum at Priene (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. I, ch. II, Pl. 12, 14, 15); in the portico of the agora at Aphrodisias (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. III, ch. II, Pl. 5, 6); in the theatre at Aizani (Texier and Pullan, Pl. 20); the engaged columns in the great theatre at Laodicea (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. II, Pl. 50); in a small building at Cnidos (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. III, ch. I, Pl. 13, 14).

The volutes were connected by a depressed line (Fig. 2) in the following buildings: in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Pl. opp. p. 196); in the temple of Athena Polias

¹ "3°. Elles se raccordent au moyen d'une ligne horizontale ainsi que dans les bas-reliefs de Ninive. — C'était la disposition la plus ordinaire des chapiteaux de l'Asie Mineure," etc.

at Priene (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. I, ch. II, Pl. 3, 5, 6, 7; pt. IV, Pl. 7, 8, 9; also Rayet et Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, Pl. 10, 12, 14); in the temple of Apollo Smintheus at Hamaxitus in the Troad (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. IV, Pl. 27, 28, 29). This temple has a slightly depressed line. The temple of Apollo at Didyme has a slightly depressed line according to Rayet and Thomas (Pl. 40), although other authorities represent it as straight (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. I, ch. III, Pl. 4, 5, but see Pl. 2; also Texier and Pullan, Pl. 3, 4, 5). The line is depressed in the columns of the temple at Messa in Lesbos (Koldewey, *Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, Pl. 20, 21, 24); in the upper row of columns in the stoa of the temple of Athena at Pergamon (*Altertümer von Pergamon*, Pl. 21, 23); in the upper row of columns in the Propylaeum at Pergamon (*Altertüm. von Perg.* Pl. 31; for capital of anta, see Pl. 30); in the entrance to a shrine in stoa of the temple of Athena at Pergamon (*Altertüm. von Perg.* Pl. 27; cf. 28); in the great altar at Pergamon (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 1251); in the Nereid monument at Xanthus in Lycia (Baum. *Denk.* p. 1013, after Falkener); in the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, I. p. 273¹); in the lower row of decorative columns in front of the stage building in the theatre at Aspendus (Lanckoroński, I. Pl. 24). There is an abnormal form of capital in a small building near Lesbos  (Koldewey, *Lesbos*, Pl. 16).

To sum up: There are five temples and five other buildings having the volutes connected by a straight line; and four temples and seven other buildings with the volutes connected by a depressed line. This excludes the temple of Apollo at Didyme about which authorities differ. Rayet and Thomas represent the line as slightly depressed, while Texier and Pullan and the Dilettanti Society appear not to have noticed the depression. It would seem as though the large drawing by Rayet and Thomas ought to be trusted rather than the smaller drawings in the other books. It is possible, too, that there was a difference in the capitals. From this list it is seen that actual remains of Ionic buildings in Asia Minor show that the

¹ Fergusson says that the details of the construction of this building are practically all known.

columns, instead of being usually connected by a straight line, are so connected in only a minority of the buildings. Furthermore, a comparison of the dates of the various buildings shows that the depressed line prevailed, roughly speaking, from 400–200 B.C. and that the straight line was the rule after that time.

The following is a list of the buildings, with the dates which are assigned to them:

STRAIGHT LINE.

1. Temple of Dionysus at Teos	perhaps 350 B.C. ¹
2. " " " or Aphrodite at Aphrodisias	early Roman Empire.
3. " " Zeus at Aizani	Roman Empire.
4. " " Apollo at Sagalassus	" "
5. " at Termessus	" "
6. Portico in agora at Aphrodisias	" "
7. Theatre at Aizani	" "
8. Propylaeum at Priene	no date assigned.
9. Theatre at Laodicea	" " "
10. Vestibule at Cnidos	" " "

DEPRESSED LINE.

1. Temple of Artemis at Ephesus	between 356–323 B.C.
2. " " Athena Polias at Priene	about 325 B.C.
3. " " Apollo at Didyme (?)	" 350 B.C. ²
4. " " Apollo Smintheus in the Troad	400–350 B.C.
5. Stoa of temple of Athena at Pergamon	time of Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.).
6. Propylaeum at Pergamon	time of Eumenes II.
7. Shrine of Athena temple in stoa at Pergamon	" " " "
8. Mausoleum at Halicarnassus	after 353 B.C.
9. Nereid monument at Xanthus	4th century B.C.
10. Altar at Pergamon	time of Eumenes II.
11. Theatre at Aspendus	Roman Empire.
12. Temple at Messa in Lesbos	date uncertain.

¹ See *Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. IV, p. 37, where the date is thought to be between 193 and 133 B.C.

² Reber, *Hist. of Anc. Art*, trans. by Clarke, p. 238, puts the date at about 470 B.C.

THE DATE OF LIBANIUS'S λόγος ἐπιτάφιος ἐπ' Ἰουλιανῷ.

By J. W. H. WALDEN.

IN an article in *Hermes*,¹ 1892, E. v. Borries suggests that Libanius's λόγος ἐπιτάφιος ἐπ' Ἰουλιανῷ, though usually assigned to the year 368 or thereabouts, was delivered rather several years earlier, probably as early as 363. The source of the belief in a late date for the oration (368 or 369) is traceable to Sievers's *Das Leben des Libanius*, pp. 253, 203. As early as 1845, however (and of this v. Borries was apparently unaware), Clinton² put the date at 365, and considerably earlier than Clinton, Reiske in his edition of Libanius, 1791, says, referring to the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος (i. p. 620), 'certe non ante A. 365 exeuntem.' Perhaps it would not be necessary to raise the question again, after Clinton's assignment of the oration to 365, did there not seem to be danger of the Germans leading us astray on this point. There is, it would seem, really very little reason for putting the date as late as 368, and no reason at all for putting it as early as 363.

Sievers's prime mistake was in considering that Libanius's reference to the earthquake which followed the death of Julian must necessarily be to the earthquake of Oct. 11, 368, and not to that of July 21, 365. The passage in question reads as follows (i. p. 621): ἡ μὲν γε γῆ καλῶς τε ἤσθητο τοῦ πάθους, καὶ προσηκούσῃ κουρᾷ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐτίμησεν, ἀποσεισασμένη, καθάπερ ἵππος ἀναβάτην, πόλεις τόσας καὶ τόσας, ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ πολλὰς, τὰς Λιβύων ἀπάσας. κείνται μὲν αἱ μέγισται Σικελίας, κείνται δὲ Ἑλλήνων, πλὴν μιᾶς, αἱ πᾶσαι, κείται δὲ ἡ καλὴ Νικαία, σείεται δὲ ἡ κάλλι μεγίστη, καὶ θαρρεῖν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐκ ἔχει. ταῦτα αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς γῆς, ἥ, εἰ βούλει γε, τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. If we glance at the passages (given by Clinton, i. pp. 464, 470-471) that refer to the two earthquakes in question, there can be little doubt left in our

¹ *Hermes*, xxvii. *Die Quellen zu den Feldzügen Julians*, pp. 176, 196.

² *Fasti Romani*, i. p. 463.

mind that it is the effects of the earlier of the two that Libanius is here describing (unless, indeed, we except the single reference to Nicaea; see below). The earthquake of 365 was accompanied by a tidal wave and inundation, and was general; *per omnem orbis ambitum . . . ; concutitur omnis terreni stabilitas ponderis* (Ammian. 26, 10, 15-16), *per totum orbem facto* (Hieron.), καὶ ὅλης τῆς γῆς (Theoph. p. 47 D). Besides Sicily (Hieron.), Alexandria and the coast of Laconia receive special mention (Ammian. 26, 10, 19). Sicily and Greece, and perhaps Alexandria, are mentioned by Libanius. The earthquake of 368, on the other hand, was local, and though the shock was a severe one, so severe as utterly to destroy Nicaea, no place other than Nicaea is mentioned as having been affected. The only question apparently in connection with Libanius's reference to the earthquake is: Is the single reference to Nicaea enough to induce us to put the oration after the earthquake of 368 as well as after that of 365? It seems not. Nicaea must have suffered from the earlier earthquake, which was so general, and Libanius's words in reference to the other places affected do not suggest to us that they were written more than three years after the event. The terminus *post quem* of the oration, however, is July 21, 365.

Equally suggestive of an early date (cf. Clinton, i. p. 465) is Libanius's notice about the inroads of the barbarians that followed the death of Julian (i. p. 620): Σκύθαι δὲ καὶ Σαυρομάται καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ πᾶν ὅσον βάρβαρον ἡγάπα ζῆν ἐν σπονδαῖς, αὐτοὶ τὰ ξίφη θήξαντες ἐπιστρατεύουσι, διαπλέουσιν, ἀπειλοῦσι, δρῶσι, διώκοντες αἰροῦσι, διωκόμενοι κρατοῦσιν, ὥσπερ οἰκέται πονηροὶ, δεσπότης τετελευτηκότος, ὀρφανοῖς ἐπανιστάμενοι. The same events are referred to by Ammianus and Zosimus. Ammian. 26, 4, 5, *hoc tempore velut per universum orbem Romanum bellicum canentibus bucinis excitae gentes saevissimae limites sibi proximos persultabant. Gallias Raetiasque simul Alamanni populabantur, Sarmatae Pannonias et Quadi, Picti, Saxonesque et Scotti et Atacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis, Austoriani Mauricaeque aliae gentes Africam solito acrius incursabant, Thracias et diripiebant praedatorii globi Gothorum. Persarum rex manus Armeniis iniectabat. . . .* Zos. 4, 3, 4, τῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον βαρβάρων, ὥς μὲν Ἰουλιανὸς περιῆν, τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὄνομα δεδιότων, ἀγαπώντων τε εἰ μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς κατὰ χώραν μένουσιν ἐνοχλοῖη, τῆς τούτου τελευτῆς ἀγγελεύσεως

ἀπανέστησαν αὐτίκα τῶν οἰκείων ἡθῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων παρεσκευάζοντο πόλεμον. Cf. 4, 9, 1, τὸ γὰρ Γερμανικὸν ἄπαν, ὃν πεπόνθει κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς Ἰουλιανὸς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος εἶχεν ἀρχὴν μεμνημένον, ἅμα τῷ γινῶναι τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν τὸ ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς ἐμπεπηγὸς δέος ἀποσεισάμενοι καὶ τὸ φύσει προσπεφυκὸς αὐτοῖς θάσος ἀναλαβόντες ὁμόσε πάντες τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν ἐπῆρσαν χωρίοις.

Ammianus's notice refers to the year 364, but that is an impossible date for the oration. The trouble continued, however, for a number of years after Julian's death, and it was not till June 366 (cf. Clinton, i. p. 466) that the Alamanni along the northern border were finally quieted. (Cf. Zos. 4, 9, 4, of this date, ἡ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸ Γερμανικὸν ἄπαν μάχη ταύτης ἔτυχε τότε τῆς τελευτῆς.) The Goths also proved troublesome in the years 365 and 366, for they assisted Procopius (Ammian. 27, 4, 1), who came to his death about the time of the defeat of the Alamanni in 366. The barbarians were, however, by no means quiet during the years that followed. The Alamanni surprised Moguntiacum in 368, and the Gothic war which followed the defeat of Procopius lasted through three campaigns, 367, 368, 369. Here again, therefore, as in the case of the previous notice, although Libanius's words would seem to point to a time as soon as possible after the death of Julian (between July 21, 365, the date of the earthquake, and June 366, the date of the first general repulse of the barbarians along the northern border after Julian's death), the possibility of a later date is not wholly excluded.

Sievers (p. 253) makes a point, however, of Hieronymus's notice for the year 368: *Libanius Antiochenus rhetor agnoscitur* (Mai, *Script. Vet.*).¹ It is no improbable supposition that for the year when Libanius 'flourished' Hieronymus selected the date of his best-known speech. This supposition, however, carries with it a consequence which Sievers did not anticipate, and which he would perhaps have hesitated to accept. If 368 is the date of the oration, it is the date of its publication, and not of its delivery. This appears from the following reasoning: Libanius informs us that the four years immediately preceding his 57th birthday was a period of continued indisposition owing to the vertigo (i. p. 96: καὶ ὁ κλύδων οὗτος ἔτη τέτταρα ἐπεκράτει . . .

¹ Sievers reads *insignis habetur* and assigns the notice to 369.

καὶ ἦν μὲν ἔτος ἑβδομον ἐπὶ τοῖς πενήκοντα λήγον ἡδῆ).¹ Libanius's 57th birthday was in July or August 371, as his 50th birthday was in July or August 364 (i. p. 94: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἦν μὲν Ὀλύμπια τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν· ἔτος δὲ ἐμοὶ πενηκοστόν). During this period of four years, from the middle of 367 at the latest to the middle of 371, he was unable to declaim at all or to continue his instruction to his students unless lying in bed (i. p. 95 f.: ἐν ἦν ἐκείνοις μέτριον, ὅτι μήτε τοὺς λόγους μήτε τοὺς νέους ἐφεύγομεν. αὐτὸ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο οὖν ἡ παραψυχή, τὸ ὡς ἡδιστα περὶ ταῦτα πονεῖν, οἴκοι τε ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ σκίμποδος ἐν τῷ διδασκαλείῳ· . . . αἱ δ' ἐπιδείξεις ἐκποδῶν, ἀηδὴς δὲ φίλος προσιών). It is of course possible that the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος never *was* delivered, and indeed Reiske seems to have had some doubt on this point, for he says, i. p. 620, 'si dicta unquam fuit.' The probabilities are, however, in favor of its delivery. In any case, a year or two one way or the other would hardly count for much in the Chronicon, for Hieronymus's reckoning is notoriously loose when it comes to details. (See Mommsen, '*Die Quellen der Chronik des Hieron.*' in *Abh. d. sächs. Gesell. d. W.* i. (1850) p. 684; Ritschl, *Parerga*, p. 623 ff.) However, it may be possible to account for the date 368. The exact date at which Libanius set up as a public teacher of rhetoric at Antioch is uncertain, but Sievers (p. 64, 12; 215 ff.) makes it out to be probably in the autumn of 354. Hieronymus completed his Chronicon in 380 (Migne, *P. L.* xxii. 44 f.). Taking these two dates as extremes, we should have the year 368 representing very nearly a point midway in Libanius's public career at Antioch. As such, it is one which we can readily believe Hieronymus would have selected as the year in which he 'flourished.' For similar methods of reckoning adopted by Hieronymus, see Ritschl's article in the *Parerga*, p. 623 ff. I notice also what seems to be a similar case in Hieronymus's remark on Basilius of Caesarea. Basilius entered the episcopate at Caesarea in 371; he died in 380. Hieronymus marks the year 376 thus: *Basilius Caesariensis episcopus Cappadociae clarus habetur*. Does this mean that Basilius published some work in 376 or does the date simply represent the middle point of his episcopate at

¹ κλύδων must, as Sievers says, p. 140, 36, refer to the trouble in the head, and not to the gout, which set in some years earlier. ●

Caesarea? The latter supposition is a possibility. The year 368 is also the point midway between the two dates which Libanius himself mentions in connection with his own age (364–371). Perhaps no conclusion can be drawn from a coincidence of this sort [though compare a similar case cited by Ritschl], but these latter dates may furnish a starting point for our reckoning. It is probably the case that, for most events contemporary with himself, Hieronymus depended not so much upon written accounts as upon verbal statements, records, and internal evidence. The pointedness of Libanius's reference to the earthquake and the inroads of the barbarians, combined with the inherent probability that the ἐπιτάφιος was actually delivered and not simply published, makes it likely that in Libanius's case at least the date of Hieronymus's notice, if we consider the year significant, is to be accounted for by some such reckoning as that suggested.

Further intimations in Libanius himself as to the date of the oration have not much significance. The famines and plagues which followed the death of Julian are referred to (i. p. 621), but the only notice in the chronicles referring to anything of the sort is Hieronymus's mention of a famine in Phrygia in 370. Clinton (i. p. 465) notices that the revolt of Procopius (365–366) is not mentioned by Libanius, and concludes therefrom either that the event was not yet known at Antioch or that the issue was still doubtful. It is to be presumed that Libanius would make mention in his oration of as many as possible of the miseries that followed the death of Julian, but still this argument, it must be admitted, is not conclusive for an early date. Libanius's reference to the indignities put upon those who had met with favor from Julian (i. p. 620) is thought by Sievers (p. 253) to be a possible reference to the indignities put upon Maximus by Valentinian (Eunap. *Max.* 102, 105), and is adduced as evidence of an earlier date for the oration than 375. If this argument has any force at all, the notice in Libanius points more nearly to the year 365 than to the year 368 or 369, for it was soon after the accession of the two emperors that Maximus was subjected to the treatment referred to. It is not at all clear, however, that the reference is so particular as is suggested by Sievers. Socrates (*H. E.* iii. 22; cf. Clinton, i. p. 465) puts the ἐπιτάφιος under Jovian's reign. Perhaps

this mistake signifies nothing more than that Socrates at least thought the oration early.

The question, then, stands thus : The terminus *post quem* of the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος is July 21, 365. All the evidence points to an early date for the oration, — to a time, we may say, between July 21, 365 and June 366. A later date is, however, not absolutely out of the question. But if we assign the speech to a time later than the summer of 367, such a date is the date of publication, and not the date of delivery.

NOTES ON THE SYMBOLISM OF THE APPLE IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY.¹

BY BENJAMIN OLIVER FOSTER.

THE stories of the Garden of the Hesperides and the wooing of Atalanta suggest at once the importance of the apple in ancient mythology; but the extent to which superstitions of various kinds about apples are current to this day, and even in our own country, may perhaps not be so generally realized. These modern folk-notions about the apple have to do chiefly, so far as I am acquainted with them, with love or fruitfulness. A girl removes the peel of an apple in one long strip, throws it back over her head, and, turning round, tries to discover, in its twists and curves, the initial of her sweetheart. Or the seeds of an apple are placed on the palm of the hand, which is then clapped to the forehead, and, from the number of seeds sticking there, certain valuable conclusions are drawn. H. F. Tozer says that in modern Greece throwing an apple is a sign to express love, or to make an offer of marriage.² Frazer in *The Golden Bough*³ tells of a custom among the Kara-Kirgiz, in accordance with which barren women roll upon the ground under a solitary apple-tree, in order to obtain offspring. By an old Hallow-e'en custom, still kept up in Scotland, a maiden goes alone into a room and eats an apple before a mirror, whereupon the face of her future husband is supposed to appear, looking over

¹ Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* xxxi (1874), pp. 36 ff., in an article on the Venus of Melos, gives a partial list of passages, and a brief discussion of the subject. It is treated also in Dilthey's *de Callimachi Cydippa* (Leips. 1863), to which I am indebted for a number of citations. Clearchus of Soli, a scholar of the Alexandrine period, wrote a little essay of about 250 words on this subject (Athen. xii. p. 553 E) chiefly interesting to us as showing that in his time the origin of the symbolism was quite forgotten.

² *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, 1869, ii. p. 331. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im Neuen*, pp. 82 ff.

³ i. p. 73.

her shoulder.¹ In Montenegro a bride takes an apple and attempts to throw it upon the roof of her husband's house, believing that, if she succeeds, their union will be blessed with children.²

The Greek and Roman counterpart of this modern conception of the efficacy of the apple in such matters forms the subject of this paper. I have endeavored to make a complete collection of the allusions to the thing in literature, and have used the evidence of art, in a few places, where it promised to be helpful. I have not, however, attempted a thorough study of the representations of the apple in ancient art.

The word 'apple' I have ventured to use throughout as a convenient translation of *μῆλον*, which may mean almost any sort of tree-fruit, except the nut. To attempt to distinguish the different kinds of *μῆλα*, or to determine which kind is meant in each particular instance would be beside my purpose. Any one who is interested in this phase of the subject will find a good treatment of the words *μῆλον*, *malum*, etc., in Victor Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustiere*, 1894⁶, pp. 594 ff.³

In considering the apple as a love gift, it will be convenient to start with its connexion with Aphrodite. For this we have in art, including that of the best period, very abundant evidence, and I shall cite only a few typical illustrations. Pausanias,⁴ in describing the cult at Sicyon, tells of a statue of the goddess by Canachus, which held a poppy in one hand, and an apple in the other. The Aphrodite of Alcamenes, too, of which the so-called Venus Genetrix is a copy, held an apple in her left hand. Fränkel⁵ describes an archaic mirror frame, now in the Berlin Antiquarium, in which Aphrodite is represented with an apple in her right hand. A silver statuette from Syria⁶ represents her with a mirror in one hand, and an apple in the other. The Rhamnusian Nemesis is

¹ R. Folcard, Jr., *Plant Lore, Legends and Lyrics*, Lond., 1884, p. 220.

² *Ibid.* p. 222; other examples will be found in this chapter.

³ See also the article *Apfel* by F. Olck in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie*, 1894.

⁴ Paus. ii. 10. 5.

⁵ *Arch. Zeit.* xxxi. p. 39.

⁶ Lajard, *Recherches sur le culte de Venus*, Pl. 19, 5 (cited by Fränkel).

represented as holding an apple bough, and the Rhamnusian Nemesis, we are told,¹ was patterned after Aphrodite. With the statue of Aphrodite discovered in Melos were found certain fragments, one of which is a left hand holding an apple. It is Fränkel's opinion that this belongs with the statue, though this is doubtful. It would be easy to multiply examples, but it is, perhaps, unnecessary.

To the connexion of the goddess with fruits, points also the cult-name *ἐν κήποις*, under which designation Aphrodite Urania was worshipped at Athens. Further evidence of her being a vegetation goddess — *Aphrodite des Erdenlebens* — are the titles *μηλεία*,² *ἐν καλάμοις*, or *ἐν ἔλει*,³ *ἀνθεια*,⁴ *ζείδωρος*,⁵ *ἡπιόδωρος*,⁶ and *εὐκαρπος*.⁷ With these may be compared the famous invocation by Lucretius in his first book.⁸

Another good proof of this connexion of the apple with Aphrodite is the Atalanta myth. The story as told by Servius is, in brief, as follows: Atalanta's father Schoeneus learned from an oracle that, after her marriage, she was destined to die, or, according to other accounts, to be transformed into some animal. To prevent such a catastrophe, the trial of speed was imposed upon all wooers, with the provision that, in the event of her being victorious, the defeated suitor should suffer death, but that the first man who succeeded in out-running her should have her for his wife. Hippomenes called upon Aphrodite for aid in his attempt, and the goddess gave him three golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides, and explained to him their use. Provided with these, Hippomenes entered the race, and, whenever Atalanta's fleetness left him behind, he threw out an apple, to one side or the other, and she, stopping each time to pick up the pretty

¹ Cf. Suidas, Hesychius, Photius, *s.vv.*

² Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, ii. pp. 642 f., says: "The pomegranate was sacred to her in Cyprus and on coins, of the Roman period, of Magnesia on the Maeander we find the figure of the goddess with this fruit in her hand, and with the inscription 'Αφροδίτη μηλεία.'"

³ Athen. xiii. 572 F.

⁴ Hesychius *s.v.*

⁵ Empedocles so called her, according to Plutarch, *Am.* p. 756 E.

⁶ Stesichorus, *frag.* 26.

⁷ Plutarch, *loc. cit.*, says Sophocles so called her.

⁸ Lucr. i. 1 ff., especially vv. 7 f., *tibi suavis daedala tellus | summittit flores.*

toy, was vanquished in the race, and became his bride. Hippomenes, however, forgot or neglected to return thanks to Aphrodite, and was punished by Cybele, whose sacred grove Aphrodite had impelled him to violate, by being turned, with his bride, into a pair of lions.¹

This story is a very old one. We can trace it back, through a couple of fragments, to Hesiod's poem on the Heroines.² But these fragments afford no evidence that Hesiod told about apples in this story, nor have we any pre-Alexandrine author to help us; for Theocritus is the earliest writer, next to Hesiod, who furnishes any allusion to the myth. We should be compelled to admit, then, that Atalanta's apples, like the apple of Discord, might possibly have been a late invention, were it not for a Greek *crater*, discovered in 1887, which Robert³ describes as belonging to the best period of the art — the middle of the fifth century — and to the school of Polygnotus. I think everybody must agree with him that there can be no question but that this painting represents the story of Atalanta. Its chief features are these: on the left are Schoeneus and Atalanta — the latter nude, save for a band wound about her hair, with its ends fluttering in the breeze, and bands of some sort (Ovid's *talaria*⁴) about her feet. On the right, Hippomenes is making ready. He has put off his *chlamys*, and, having anointed himself, is about to use the flesh-scaper, but has stopped short, and is gazing in astonishment at Aphrodite, who, dressed in rich attire, appears before him, though she seems to be invisible to the others. In her right hand is an apple, which she is reaching out to Hippomenes, and Eros,⁵ who attends her, carries another apple. It cannot be made out, from the somewhat obliterated left hand of the goddess, whether that holds the third apple, or not. Other (male) figures are perhaps attendants upon Hippomenes, or, it may be, his rivals for the hand of the princess.

¹ Serv. *ad Aen.* iii. 113.

² Edition of Rzach, *frag.* 42, 43.

³ *Hermes*, xxii. pp. 445 ff.

⁴ Ov. *Metam.* x. 591.

⁵ For the apple in connexion with Eros, which is doubtless due to his relationship to Aphrodite, cf. Philostr. *Imag.* i. 6; Furtwängler, *Vasen-sammlung* (Berlin 1885), nos. 2387, 2911, etc.

So it seems certain that when Theocritus says:

Ἴππομένης ὄκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἤθελε γάμαι,
μᾶλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔλῶν δρόμον ἄννευ·

Theoc. *Idyll.* iii. 40 f.

he is not inventing, nor borrowing from another Alexandrine, but is thinking of the old form of the legend, perhaps that of Hesiod himself. Robert¹ notes, also, that Ovid's beautiful version of the story is in curiously minute accord with this painting.² He, too, is apparently drawing from the same source with Theocritus.

Before dismissing this story, I should not omit to state that there are traces of a version connecting the apples of Atalanta with Dionysus. Theocritus, in the *Pharmaceutriac*, makes the lover speak of coming to his mistress,

μᾶλα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι Διωνύσοιο φυλάσσων,

Theoc. *Idyll.* ii. 120.

and the scholiast comments: Μᾶλα μὲν: Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ περὶ Λογάδων τὸν Διονύσου στέφανον ἐκ μήλων εἶναί φησιν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἴππομένην λαβεῖν, Ἀφροδίτης αἰτησαμένης, ὡς Διόδωρος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν Κορινθικοῖς. — Μᾶλα μὲν ἐν κόλπῃ: τὰ ἐράσμια καὶ ἔρωτος ποιητικά, καθὼς ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης διδόμενα τῷ Ἴππομένει μῆλα ἐκ Διονύσου. ταῦτα δὲ εἰς ἔρωτα τὴν Ἀταλάντην ἐκίνησεν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Φιλητᾶς.

τά οἱ ποτε Κύπρις ἐλοῖσα
μῆλα Διωνύσου δῶκεν ἀπὸ κροτάφων.

This scholium is also noteworthy, as affording the only hint which we have, that the golden apples had, for Atalanta, any significance apart from their beauty, which attracted her as a toy does a child.³

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 448.

² *Ov. Metam.* x. 560 ff. Note especially vv. 650 f.; 578–580; 591 ff.

³ The late epigrammatist Arabius saw in Atalanta's apples a *marriage-gift* (on which see below):

ἔδνα γάμων ἔρριπτες ἢ ἀμβολίην ταχυήτος
τοῦτο γέρας κόρη χρύσειον, Ἴππομενεις;
ἀμφω μῆλον ἄνυσσεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρθένον ὁρμῆς
εἶργεν, καὶ ζυγίης σύμβολον ἦν Παφίης.

Anth. Plan. 144.

was

Let us next consider the story of the Apple of Discord and the Judgment of Paris. So far as we know, the apple in this story is, as I have said, a late invention. It is so familiar a tale, that we can hardly realize that the classic poets of Greece did not know it at all, but this seems to be the truth. Lucian,¹ a scholiast on Euripides,² the epigrammatist Damocharis,³ and the very late epic poet Coluthus⁴ are our only sources in Greek, while Latin literature has only Hyginus,⁵ Servius,⁶ Apuleius,⁷ and some writers in the Anthology.⁸ Art can do no better for us. Here it first certainly appears, says Fränkel,⁹ in wall-paintings and Roman reliefs. Nevertheless, the lateness of its appearance in the story does not make it valueless for us, since it furnishes one more piece of evidence that the apple was, in ancient times, connected with Aphrodite. Fränkel,¹⁰ indeed, sees in this legend a direct connexion with the subject of the present study, — surmising that these late writers conceived of Paris as bestowing his favor upon the goddess by the symbolism of the gift of an apple, just as men gave apples to their mortal sweethearts. With this idea I am not inclined to agree, however, since none of our sources for this story make Paris a lover of Aphrodite, nor do they give any hint of such a thing — unless the award of the apple be itself considered as implying it.

Still another indication of the relation of the apple to Aphrodite is the story of Melus, as told by Servius.¹¹ He relates that Melus, priest of Aphrodite, and foster-father of Adonis, hanged himself on a tree, with grief at the latter's untimely death. Aphrodite then turned him into an apple-tree, which was named, for him, *μηλον*.

¹ Lucian, *Sympos.* 35; *Dial. Mar.* 5.

² Schol. Eur. *Androm.* 276.

³ *Anth. Pal.* ix. 633.

⁴ Coluthus, *de raptu Helenes*, 67.

⁵ Hyg. *Fab.* 92.

⁶ Serv. *ad Aen.* i. 27.

⁷ Apul. *Metam.* x. 32.

⁸ Riese, i. p. 117, Nos. 133, 134, 135; p. 125, Nos. 165, 166.

⁹ *Loc. cit.* p. 38, note 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 38.

¹¹ Serv. *ad Ecl.* viii. 37.

Finally, the notes on the Rhamnusian Nemesis in Suidas and Photius indicate that the apple was universally known as an attribute of Aphrodite. Suidas, under the caption 'Ραμνουσία Νέμεσις, says: αὕτη πρῶτον ἀφίδρυτο ἐν Ἀφροδίτης σχήματι· διὸ καὶ κλάδον εἶχε μηλέας, and the same words are found in the note of Photius.

Two other myths should be mentioned here, after which I shall consider the apple as used in historic times. These are the story of the apples which Mother Earth caused to grow, as a wedding gift to Hera,¹ and the story about Persephone, which relates that she was compelled to remain with Pluto in the lower world, because she had eaten of a pomegranate there, and had thereby sealed irrevocably the marriage compact.² With these myths should be compared the following statement in Plutarch: ὁ Σόλων ἐκέλευε τὴν νύμφην τῷ νυμφίῳ συγκατακλίνεσθαι μήλον Κυδωνίου κατατραγοῦσαν· αἰνιττόμενος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ στόματος καὶ φωνῆς χάριν εὐάρμοστον εἶναι πρῶτον καὶ ἡδέϊαν. *Coniug. Praecept.* i, p. 138 D; cf. *Quaest. Rom.* 65, p. 279 F. This passage proves the use of the apple in marriage rites to have been a very ancient one, and I agree with Dilthey (p. 115) that the myths arose from the actual custom, not the custom from the myths. It is likely, too, that there was some basis in real life for the throwing of apples at the bridegroom which Stesichorus speaks of in his Epithalamium of Helen:

πολλὰ μὲν Κυδώνια μᾶλα ποτερρίπτουν ποτὶ δίφρον ἄνακτι,
πολλὰ δὲ μύρσινα φύλλα
καὶ ῥοδίνους στεφάνους Ἴων τε κορωνίδας οὐλας

frag. 27, Bgk.

and for their use by Laodamia in a religious ceremony performed in honor of her dead husband.³

We have seen above, that, with the Greeks of our own day, the apple is used in courtship. In Furtwängler's Catalogue of Vases in Berlin is described a painting which the editor thinks may represent such a scene.⁴ The young man, however, is presenting the love-token not to the maiden herself, but to her father, and Furtwängler's

¹ Eratosthenes, *Catast.* iii.; Hyg. *Astron.* ii.; Athen. iii. p. 83 C (quoting Asclepiades of Myrlea); Serv. *ad Aen.* iv. 484.

² Apollod. i. 5, 3.

³ Hyg. *Fab.* 104.

⁴ No. 2518.

interpretation is not convincing. In literature, the notices of this custom are numerous. In the lexicon of Suidas the words μήλω βληθῆναι are thus explained: ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς ἔρωτά τινα ἐπαγομένων. (Hesychius interprets μήλω βαλεῖν similarly. His words are: πτοῆσαι τινα καὶ εἰς ἔρωτα ὑπαγαγεῖσθαι.) Here, then, we have the expression 'to be hit with an apple' used as a metaphor. The practice itself must, of course, have been common, and of long standing, before the words descriptive of it could have become a stereotyped phrase, synonymous with 'love-making.' And yet, strangely enough, this figurative use of the words does not make its first appearance in late writers, but was taken, by Suidas, from one of our earliest sources on the custom, Aristophanes, whom the lexicographer quotes, in the passage just cited, as furnishing an illustration of his definition. The words of Aristophanes occur in the *Clouds*, in the speech of the Just Argument, who is made to say to the Athenian youth:

μήδ' εἰς ὀρχηστρίδος εἰσάττειν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ταῦτα κεχηνῶς
μήλω βληθεὶς ὑπὸ πορνιδίου τῆς εὐκλείας ἀποθραυσθῆς.

Nub. 996 f.¹

We labor under the disadvantage, then, of having to investigate a custom which, by the time of our earliest source, has already become so stale as to furnish this metaphor.

The following epigram, which appears to have been written to accompany the gift of an apple, is ascribed to the philosopher Plato:

τῷ μήλω βάλλω σε, σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐκούσα φιλεῖς με
δεξαμένη, τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος.
εἰ δ' ἄρ', ὃ μὴ γίγνεται, νοεῖς, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ λαβοῦσα
σκέψαι τὴν ὥρην ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιος.

Diog. Laert. iii. 23.

The next one, also ascribed to Plato, apparently served the same purpose:

μήλον ἐγώ· βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις. ἄλλ' ἐπίνευσον,
Ξανθίππη· κἀγὼ καὶ σὺ μαραινόμεθα.

Ibid.

¹ Cf. Schol. *ad loc.*: μήλω βληθείς: οὕτως ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ πτοῆσαι καὶ εἰς ἔρωτα ἀγαγεῖν.

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In the fifth idyl of Theocritus, it is the lady who does the wooing. The goat-herd Comatas is the speaker :

βάλλει καὶ μάλοισι τὸν αἰπόλον ἃ Κλεαρίστα
τὰς αἴγας παρελάντα καὶ ἀδύ τι ποππυλιάσδει.

Theoc. *Idyll.* v. 88 f.

One can scarcely believe that Theocritus merely meant, here, 'Clearista makes love to her goat-herd,' but so the scholiast took it. His note runs thus: βάλλει καὶ μάλοισιν: ἀντὶ τοῦ πειρᾶται με εἰς ἔρωτα ὑπαγαγέσθαι. τὸ γὰρ μῆλα βάλλειν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔτασσον.

The initiative is similarly taken by the girl in another idyl:

βάλλει τοι, Πολύφαμε, τὸ ποίμνιον ἃ Γαλάτεια
μάλοισιν, δυσέρωτα τὸν αἰπόλον ἄνδρα καλεῖσα.

Theoc. *Idyll.* vi. 6 f.

Vergil was thinking of these two places, when he wrote :

malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,
et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 64 f.

In the second and third idyls, imitated in the third bucolic, the lover brings a present of apples to his mistress,¹ and, in the eleventh (v. 39), Polyphemus calls Galatea γλυκύμαλον.²

¹ Theoc. *Idyll.* ii. 120 :

μᾶλα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι Διωνύσοιο φυλάσσω.

Ibid. iii. 10 f. :

ἤνιδε τοι δέκα μᾶλα φέρω· τηνῶθε καθεῖλον,
ὦ μ' ἐκέλευ καθελεῖν τύ· καὶ αὔριον ἄλλά τοι οἶσῶ.

Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 70 f. :

quod potui, puero silvestri ex arbore lecta
aurea mala decem misi; cras altera mittam.

Compare, also, Verg. *Ecl.* ii. 51 f., and Martial, vii. 91.

² Explained by the scholiast, *ad loc.*, as πρόσφθεγμα ἐρωτικόν. With this place in Theocritus may be compared Sappho, *frag.* 93 (Bergk) :

οἶον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρέυθεται ἄκρω ἐπ' ὕσθῳ
ἄκρον ἐπ' ἄκροτάτῳ· λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπῃς,
οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπὶ κέσθαι.

This passage is explained by one in Himerius (i. 16) : Σαπφούς ἦν ἄρα μῆλον μὲν

Theocritus, indeed, used this idea so often that I cannot feel that the editors have any excuse for meddling with the received text in *Idyll.* xiv. 38. The injured lover is upbraiding his false sweetheart for the favor she has shown his rival. Finally she bursts into tears, and he exclaims, as she rushes from the room :

ἄλλον ἰοῖσα
θάλλει φίλον. τήνψ τὰ σὰ δάκρυα μᾶλα ῥέοντι.

Evidently his meaning is 'These tears of thine are flowing as love-tokens for him.'¹

In another place we are told of Polyphemus :

ἦρατο δ' οὐ μάλοις, οὐδὲ ῥόδῳ, οὐδὲ κικίννοις,
ἀλλ' ὀρθαῖς μανίαις, αἰεῖτο δὲ πάντα πάρεργα.

Theoc. *Idyll.* xi. 10 f.

In the first book of Propertius is a charming bit of description, where the poet tells how he came into Cynthia's house and found her sleeping :

et modo solvebam nostra de fronte corollas,
ponebamque tuis, Cynthia, temporibus ;
et modo gaudebam lapsos formare capillos ;
nunc furtiva cavis poma dabam manibus,
omniaque ingrato largibar munera somno,
munera de prono saepe voluta sinu !

Prop. i. 3, 21 ff.

Another Propertian passage describes Cydonian apples as a love-gift:

illis munus erant decussa Cydonia ramo.

Prop. iv. 13, 27.

εἰκάσαι τὴν κόρην, τοσοῦτον χαρισαμένην τοῖς πρὸ ὥρας δρέψασθαι σπεύδουσιν, ὅσον [οὐδ'] ἄκρῳ τοῦ δακτύλου γεύσασθαι, τῷ [δὲ] καθ' ὥραν τρυγᾶν τὸ μῆλον μέλλοντι τηρῆσαι τὴν χάριν ἀκμάζουσιν.

This place in Sappho is imitated by Longus, *Past.* iii. 33; 34. Two other places in Longus may be noted here, i. 24; iii. 25.

¹ For parallels to the construction of *μᾶλα* — which I take to be predicate-apposition — cf. *Idyll.* v. 124: 'Ἰμέρα ἀνθ' ὕδατος βέλτω γάλα; *ibid.* 126: βέλτω χὰ Συβαρίτις ἐμὴν μέλι; Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 89: *mella fluant illi.*

This line bears a close resemblance to Lucretius's mention of them, in his account of primitive customs:

vel pretium [*sc.* amoris], glandes atque arbuta, vel pira lecta.

Lucr. v. 965.

Both places are probably reminiscences of Theocritus.

A very pretty picture of this lover's custom is found in the poem addressed by Catullus to his friend Ortalus (lxv. 15 ff.):

sed tamen in tantis maeroribus, Ortale, mitto
haec expressa tibi carmina Battiadae,
ne tua dicta vagis nequiquam credita ventis
effluxisse meo forte putes animo,
ut missum sponsi furtivo munere malum
procurrit casto virginis e gremio,
quod miserae oblatae molli sub veste locatum,
dum adventu matris prosilit, excutitur:
atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu,
huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor.

Philostratus gives a minute description of a picture in which apples are prominent. The parts of chief interest to us are: Μῆλα ἔρωτες ἰδοὺ τρυγῶσιν . . . οἱ γὰρ κάλλιστοι τῶν ἐρώτων ἰδοὺ τέτταρες ὑπεξελθόντες τῶν ἄλλων δύο μὲν αὐτῶν ἀντιπέμπουσι μῆλον ἀλλήλοις, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα δυὰς ὁ μὲν τοξεύει τὸν ἕτερον, ὁ δὲ ἀντιτοξεύει καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπειλὴ τοῖς προσώποις ἔπασσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στέρνα παρέχουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ἵν' ἐκεῖ που τὰ βέλη πελάσῃ. καλὸν τὸ αἶνιγμα· σκόπει γάρ, εἴ τι ξυνήμι τοῦ ζωγράφου· φιλία ταῦτα, ὦ παῖ, καὶ ἀλλήλων ἱμερος, οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ μῆλου παίζοντες πόθου ἄρχονται, ὅθεν ὁ μὲν ἀφίησι φιλήσας τὸ μῆλον, ὁ δὲ ὑπτίαις αὐτὸ ὑποδέχεται ταῖς χερσὶ δῆλον ὡς ἀντιφιλήσων, εἰ λάβοι, καὶ ἀντιπέμψων αὐτό, τὸ δὲ τῶν τοξοτῶν ζεύγος ἐμπεδοῦσιν ἔρωτα ἤδη φθάνοντα, καὶ φημὶ τοὺς μὲν παίζειν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ ἐρᾶν, τοὺς δὲ τοξεύειν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λῆξαι τοῦ πόθου. Philost. *Imag.* i. 6.

There is an entertaining account, in Lucian, of a lovers' quarrel. Ioessa, complaining of the shameful way her lover, Lysias, carries on with other women, in her presence, says: τέλος δὲ τοῦ μῆλου ἀποδακὼν, ὅποτε τὸν Δίφιλον εἶδες ἀσχολούμενον — ἐλάλει γὰρ Θράσωι — προκύψας πως εὐστόχως προσηκόντισας ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ λαθεῖν γε πειρώμενος ἐμέ· ἡ δὲ φιλήσασα μεταξύ τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἀποδέσμῳ

παρεβύσατο. *Dial. Mer.* xii. 1.¹ This custom of taking a bite out of the apple is a feature of the game in another place in Lucian,² and in Alciphron.³ With the φιλήσασα of Lucian we may compare this line, from an epigram ascribed to Petronius:

oscula cum pomis mitte; vorabo lubens.

Petr. *Epig.* 34.

Another curious development of the practice of giving apples is found in the messages which were sometimes written on them. For the existence in historical times of such a custom we have no evidence; but three stories which have come down to us describing this use of the apple make it probable that it was not unknown in real life. These are the story of the Apple of Discord, — which Lucian says bore the legend ἡ καλὴ λαβέτω,⁴ — the story of the apple that got Cydippe into such a coil, and the one, preserved in the scholia to the *Iliad*, about the maiden who fell in love with Achilles, and assisted him, by a message written upon an apple which she flung to him, to capture her native town. This last story, which is of unusual interest in that the scholiast ascribes it to Hesiod, thus making it the oldest of all the sources for our study, is as follows: 'Ἀχιλλεύς ὑπὸ τὸν Τρωϊκὸν πόλεμον πορθῶν τὰς περιόικους τῆς Ἰλίου πόλεις, ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Μονηρίαν, νῦν δὲ Πήδασον καλουμένην, καὶ αὐτὴν σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐλεῖν. ἀπογόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς τὸ τέλος πολιορκίαν διὰ τὴν δχυρότητα τοῦ τόπου καὶ μέλλοντος ἀναχωρεῖν, φασὶν εἶσω τῶν τειχῶν οὐσάν τινα παρθένον ἐρασθῆναι τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ λαβοῦσαν μῆλον εἰς τοῦτο ἐπιγράψαι, καὶ ῥῦσαι εἰς μέσον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον "μὴ σπεῦδ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, πρὶν Μονηρίαν ἐλεῖν· ὕδωρ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστι· διψῶσιν κακῶς." τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐπιμείναντα οὕτω λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος σπάνει. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Δημητρίῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ. Schol. Ven. A. on *Il.* Z 35.⁵ While it is true that the apple is here used, primarily at least, not as a love-token, but to convey a message

¹ Cf. the almost word-for-word imitation by Aristaenetos (i. 25).

² Lucian, *Tox.* 13.

³ Alciphron, *Epist.* iii. 62, 2.

⁴ Lucian, *Dial. Mar.* 5.

⁵ Dilthey (p. 113) thinks we have in Philostratus (*Epist.* 62, Kays.) an allusion to this story.

of encouragement relative to the siege which Achilles is prosecuting, one is strongly tempted to believe that the maiden's apple was meant to bear more than one message, and to hint that another citadel was quite as near capitulation as was Monenia.

Cydippe's story¹ is transmitted to us in the *Heroides* of Ovid, who found it in a poem by Callimachus. It is something like this: Acontius was a beautiful youth of the island Ceos. At the yearly festival, in Delos, he saw Cydippe, the daughter of an Athenian of high rank, and straightway fell in love with her. Following her to the temple of Artemis, whither she had gone, in company with her nurse, he plucked a quince, and, writing on it, "I swear by the sanctuary of Artemis to wed Acontius," flung it at her feet. The nurse picked it up and handed it to Cydippe, who read it aloud, for Nurse's benefit. By thus saying aloud the words on the quince, she became bound to marry the young Cean, for the goddess had heard her vow. Now Cydippe's father had promised her to another, and, upon her return to Athens, preparations were made for the solemnization of her marriage. When the day appointed for the ceremony came, however, Cydippe was suddenly taken sick, and the marriage had to be postponed. Twice again, the day was set, and, twice again, did Cydippe fall sick. Finally, the father appealed to Delphi, and learned that the wrath of Artemis, occasioned by the breaking of Cydippe's vow, could only be appeased by the girl's marriage to Acontius, which was, accordingly, allowed to take place.

Yet another side of the wide sphere of usefulness of the apple is recorded by Horace, in the *Satires* ii. 3, 272 f. :

quid, cum Piceis excerpens semina pomis
gaudes si cameram percusti forte, penes te es ?

upon which Porfyrio comments: *solent amantes semina ex malis orbiculatis duobus primis compressa digitis mittere in cameram, velut augurantes, si cameram contigerint, posse sperari ad effectum duci, quod animo conceperunt.*

I shall now consider a number of passages which must be dealt with in determining how much the likeness of the apple to the shape

¹ Imitated in one told of Ctesylla ; Antoninus Liberalis, i.

of a woman's breast had to do with the part it played in courtship and marriage.¹

Aristophanes has, in the *Acharnians* (v. 1199):

τῶν τιτθίων, ὡς σκληρὰ καὶ Κυδώνια.

In the *Lysistrata* occur the words (v. 115):

τᾶς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλα.

The scholiast explains: τοὺς μαστοὺς μῆλα φησίν. In the *Ecclesiazusae* (v. 901 ff.) the young man says, of the girl:

τὸ τρυφερὸν γὰρ ἐμπέφυκε

τοῖς ἀπαλοῦσι μηροῖς

κάπῃ τοῖς μήλοις² ἐπανθεί.

Two other writers of comedy, also, make the comparison. Crates (*frag.* 40 Kock) has:

πάνυ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὠρικώτατα

τὰ τιτθί' ὥσπερ μῆλον ἢ μυαίκυλα.

Cantharus (*frag.* 6 Kock) has:

Κυδωνίους μήλοισιν εἰς τὰ τιτθία.

¹ For this symbolism in modern literature, cf. Goethe, *Faust* v. 3771 ff.

FAUST. Einst hatt' ich einen schönen Traum;
Da sah ich einen Apfelbaum,
Zwei schöne Aepfel glänzten dran,
Sie reizten mich, ich stieg hinan.

DIE SCHÖNE. Der Aepfelchen begehrt ihr sehr,
Und schon vom Paradiese her.
Von Freuden fühl' ich mich bewegt
Dass auch mein Garten solche trägt,

with the note in the edition of von Loeper (Berl. 1879), who cites "Dschami in *Jussuf u. Suleika*, 15 Gesang, von der Brust Suleika's: Zwei frische Aepfel, welche einen Zweig geziert; Ariost. *Ras. Rol.* vii. 14: *Due pome acerbe e pur d'avorio fatte, Vengono e van, come onde*; Konrad's *Trojanischer Krieg*, von der Helena: Als ob zwēn epfel wūnneclich, Ihr waeren dar gesteket; auch Bürger: Und suche den Baum, den Baum, Der den Apfel der Liebe dir trug." Cf. also Goethe's *Der Müllerin Verrath*, third stanza, and Grimm's *Wörterbuch* s.vv. *Apfel*, *Frauenaepfel*.

² The scholiast says: μήλοις: ταῖς παρειαῖς, on which Rutherford (*Schol. Arist.* ii. p. 550) observes that this is a known late sense of μῆλον. In view of the other places in Aristophanes, I feel pretty certain that the scholiast is mistaken.

The Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity. 53

Coming down to Theocritus, we have, in a mime attributed to him, a dialogue in which the girl exclaims, as she repels the rude advances of her lover:

τί ῥέζεις σατυρίσκε; τί δ' ἐνδοθεν ἄψαο μαζῶν;

and the young man replies:

μᾶλα τεὰ πράτιστα τάδε χνοάοντα διδάξω.

Theoc. *Idyll.* xxvii. 48 f.

The writers of the Greek Anthology yield a few more illustrations. Leonidas of Tarentum has this line:

καὶ μαζὸς, ἀκμῆς ἄγγελος, κυδωνιᾷ.

Anth. Plan. 182.

In another place¹ he has the word *μηλοῦχον* — literally, 'apple-sustainer' — used of a *strophium*.

In an epigram by Rufinus we read:

παρθένος ἀργυροπέζος ἐλούετο, χρύσεια μαζῶν
χρωτὶ γαλακτοπαγεῖ μῆλα διαινομένη, κτέ.

Anth. Pal. v. 60.

Two epigrams by Paulus Silentiarius are especially illuminating. In one, he writes:

εἴ ποτ' ἐμοί, χαρίεσσα, τεῶν τάδε σύμβολα μαζῶν
ᾧπασας, ὀλβίζῃ τὴν χάριν ὡς μεγάλην,

Anth. Pal. v. 291.

and that the *τάδε* means 'apples' is clear from the epigram immediately preceding, upon the same theme, and, very possibly, written for the same occasion; here apples are specified as the gift, and a comparison with the breasts is again intended:

ὄμμα πολυπτοίητον ὑποκλέπτουσα τεκούσης,
συζυγίην μῆλων δῶκεν ἐμοὶ ῥοδέων
θηλυτέρῃ χαρίεσσα. μάγον τάχα πυρσὸν ἐρώτων
λαθριδίως μήλοισ μίξεν ἐρευθομένοις
εἰμὶ γὰρ ὁ τλήμων φλογὶ σύμπλοκος· ἀντὶ δὲ μαζῶν
ὦ πόποι, ἀπρήκτοις μῆλα φέρω παλάμαις.

Anth. Pal. v. 290.

¹ *Anth. Pal.* vi. 211.

An anonymous squib addressed to an old woman whose unwelcome attentions have made her troublesome to some young fellow, should probably be included here :

ἄλλην δρῦν βαλάνιζε, Μενέσθιον· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
 ἔκκαιρον μήλων προσδέχομαι ῥντίδα·
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πεπόθηκα συνακμάζουσιν ὀπώρην.
 ὥστε τί πειράζεις λευκὸν ἰδεῖν κόρακα;

Anth. Pal. xi. 417.

The curious piece of metaphorical writing that follows, reminding one strongly of the figurative language of the Song of Songs, is from the speech of Bacchus to Beroe, in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus, an epic poet of, perhaps, the fourth century of our era :

“παρθένη νῦν χρόνος ἦλθε· ποτὲ τρυγώμεν ὀπώρην;
 σὸς στάχυς ἤέξετο καὶ ἀμητοῖο χατίζει·
 λήιον ἀμήσω σταχυηφόρον, ἀντὶ δὲ Δηοῦς
 μήτρι τεῇ ῥέξαιμι θαλύσια Κυπρογενεΐη.
 δέξο δὲ γειοπόνον με τεῆς ὑποεργὸν ἀλωῆς·
 ὑμετέρης με κόμισσε φντηκόμον Ἀφρογενεΐης,
 ὄφρα φυτὸν πῆξαιμι φερέσβιον, ἡμερίδων δὲ
 ὄμφακα γινώσκω νεοθηλέα χερσὶν ἀφάσσων.
 οἶδα, πόθεν ποτὲ μῆλα πεπαίνεται· οἶδα φντεῦσαι
 καὶ πτελέην τανύφυλλον ἐρειδομένην κυπαρίσσω·
 ἄρσενά καὶ φοίνικα γεγηθότα θήλει μίσγω,
 καὶ ῥόδον, ἣν ἐθέλῃς, παρὰ μίλακι καλὸν ἀέξω.
 μή μοι χρυσὸν ἄγοις κομιδῆς χάριν· οὐ χρέος ὄλβου·
 μισθὸν ἔχω δύο μῆλα, μιῆς ἓνα βότρυν ὀπώρης.”
 τοῖα μάτην ἀγόρευε, καὶ οὐκ ἡμείβετο κούρη
 Βάκχου μὴ νοέουσα γυναιμανέος στίχα μύθων.

Nonnus, *Dionys.* 42, 297 ff. (Köchly's edition).

What inferences may fairly be drawn from all this evidence? It may be held, I think, that from Aristophanes down, the comparison of breasts with apples was a familiar one. On the other hand, we must not forget that only in late writers do we find this symbolism an element in the game of sending or throwing apples, as love-gifts. What we must seek, in order to explain satisfactorily all the many

phases of this widespread, tenacious custom, is some simple, fundamental idea, through which, in some way, the general notion of love or fruitfulness shall be symbolized in the apple. This requirement is not satisfied by the hypothesis that the apple represented the breast, and, for that reason, and because the writers who so understood the practice are late writers, I am inclined to believe that they were themselves deceived by the commonness of the comparison of apple and breast, and invented, while they supposed, very likely, that they were following tradition, a symbolism of their own.

My conclusion is that in the remotely ancient attribution of the apple and the apple-kind, as typical of all fruitfulness, to Aphrodite — the *alma Venus* of Lucretius's invocation — and its connexion also with other divinities of like functions (such as Dionysus, the god of vegetation, and Ge, the mother of all things), originated the meaning which it was felt to have when employed in courtship and the marriage ceremony. So much seems fairly plain. But the evidence on the subject left us by the classical authors does not enable us to take the next step, and offer an explanation of the fact that the apple was used in preference to other objects, as representing the life-giving functions of these deities. The original association of Aphrodite and the apple may very likely have been purely accidental, arising from a very ancient connexion, in some locality, of the worship of the apple-tree and the worship of a goddess of love. If one of these cults spread, it might naturally carry the other with it, and the apple-tree, which started, let us suppose, as an independent god, might, in the course of time, come to be looked upon as owing its sacred character simply to its being in some sense an emblem of Aphrodite.

GREEK SHOES IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD.¹

BY ARTHUR ALEXIS BRYANT.

τίνος ἐπιστημόνως λέγεις ; ἢ σκυτῶν τομῆς ; — PLATO.

I. ANTHROPODIDAXIA.

1) Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐκ τεττάρων τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων πόλιν συγκεῖσθαι, λέγει δὲ τούτους ὑφάντην καὶ γεωργὸν καὶ σκυτοτόμον καὶ οἰκοδόμον.²

In all save the most primitive of Edens the Socratic rule above set forth holds good : — man must be clothed and fed and shod and housed, and carpenter, cobbler, farmer, and weaver will always find a place. So in Greece, though a kindlier climate enabled the inhabitants to reduce such protections to their lowest terms, we find the shoemaker briskly at work.

With his brethren of the forge, the tan-yard, the rule, and the loom, he appears again and again in our extant literature, — serving now to point the philosopher's moral, as in Plato and Aristotle, now to illustrate the orator's logic, or to receive the comic poet's abuse, — but ever spoken of in familiar terms as a daily acquaintance.

We are thus prevented from supposing, as a cursory inspection of vase-paintings might perhaps lead us to suppose, that the unshod

¹ I have tried to see what we could learn from the literature of the fifth and fourth centuries as to our subject. It is not my purpose here to discuss, except indirectly, the monumental evidence. The principal modern articles on the subject are: HERMANN, *Griech. Privatalt.*, pp. 180-184, 185-196; BLÜMNER, *Technologie*, I, pp. 267-286; IWAN VON MÜLLER, *Gr. Privatalt.* (Handbuch, Vol. IV, 1 pt. 2d ed. 2), pp. 103-104, 245, 249; BLÜMNER, *Leben u. Sitten*, I, pp. 60-67; III, pp. 158, 160; GUHL U. KONER, *Leben d. Gr. u. Röm.* (ed. 6, curav. R. Engelmann), pp. 306-309; BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler s.v. FUSSEBEKLEIDUNG* (I, p. 574); SCHUHMACHER (III, pp. 1587-1588); SMITH, *Dict. Ant. s.vv. calceus, baucides, carbatina, cothurnus, embas, endromis, sandalium*; DAREMBERG ET SAGLIO; *Dictionnaire, s.vv. arbyle, baucides, blautae, carbatina, cothurnus, crepida, diabathrum, embas.*

² Arist. *Pol.* 4. 4. p. 1291a. 13.

foot was the rule in Hellas. The Spartans indeed, by the law of Lycurgus, enjoined this on their youth :

2) Xenophon, *De Rep. Lac.* 2. 3 : ἀντί γε μὴν τοῦ ἀπαλύνειν τοὺς πόδας ὑποδήμασιν ἔταξεν ἀνυποδησίᾳ κρατύνειν, νομίζων εἰ τοῦτ' ἀσκήσειαν, πολὺ μὲν ῥᾶον ἢ ὀρθία ἐκβαίνειν, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ πρηνῇ καταβαίνειν, καὶ πηδῆσαι καὶ ἀναθορεῖν καὶ δραμεῖν θάττον ἀνυπόδητον εἰ ἡσκηκῶς εἴη τοὺς πόδας ἢ ὑποδεδεμένον.

We read that the old Agesilaus felt this habit of his early years still strong upon him in age. So Aelian¹ :

3) Ἀγηςίλαος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος γέρων ἤδη ὢν ἀνυπόδητος πολλάκις καὶ ἀχίτων προΐει . . . καὶ ταῦτα ἐωθινὸς ἐν ὥρᾳ χειμερίῳ.

Plato, with his poetic sympathy for Spartan theories, reckons care for shoes among the vanities which the philosopher will lightly esteem,² and in the *Laws* taboos them for his warrior youth along with all manner of hats, as impairing the natural vigor of the god-provided coverings for head and feet :

4) Plato, *Legg.* 12. 942 D and E :

καὶ τό γε μέγιστον, τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ποδῶν δύναμιν μὴ διαφθεῖρειν τῇ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων σκεπασμάτων περικαλυφῇ, τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολλύντας πίλων τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων γένεσιν καὶ φύσιν.

Socrates, as we know, in summer and winter, in city and field, trusted to these οἰκεία ὑποδήματα of his own hardy feet³ :

5) Plato, *Phaedrus* 229 A : Δεῦρ' ἐκτραπόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἴωμεν. εἴτα ὅπου ἂν δόξῃ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καθιζήσόμεθα.

Εἰς καιρὸν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνυπόδητος ὢν ἔτυχον. σὺ μὲν γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ. ῥᾶστον οὖν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ ὑδάτιον βρέχουσι τοὺς πόδας ἰέναι καὶ οὐκ ἀηδές, ἄλλως τε καὶ τήνδε τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας.

And this he did even when ordinary mortals betook themselves to felt wrappings and leggings of sheepskin to shut out the cold,⁴ so that his friends recall with gusto his rare concessions to custom, as when, "in best bib and tucker," and with shoes on his feet, he went to dine at Agatho's.⁵ We are told that some others, too, at Athens,

¹ *Var. Hist.* 7. 13.

² *Phaedo* 64 D.

³ Cf. with the *Phaedrus* passage above Xen. *Mem.* 1. 6. 2. and Ameips. *Conn. frag.* ap. Diog. Laert. 2. 27 (Kock, I, 672. 9), where Socrates is called "the bane of shoemakers."

⁴ Plato, *Sympos.* 220 B.

⁵ Id. *ibid.* 174 A, and *infra*, 118.

men of simple habits and Spartan endurance, like Lycurgus the financier,¹ and Phocion the orator,² went habitually unshod; but the very fact that these are so cited, not to mention the other idiosyncrasies of costume and custom attributed to each, marks them as exceptions to a rule almost universal.

As few men went barefoot all the time, so there were times when most men put off their shoes. Indoors, whether at meals (6, 7) or in bed (8, 9, 10) or at the bath (11), or at exercise in gymnasium or palaestra, men never wore anything on their feet.³

6) Ar. *Vesp.* 103-104 :

εὐθὺς δ' ἀπὸ δορπηστοῦ κέκραγεν ἐμβάδας,
κάπειτ' ἐκέωσ' ἐλθὼν προκαθεύδει πρὸ πάννυ.

7) Eubulus, *Dolon. frag.* 30 (Kock, II, 175. 30)⁴:

ἐγὼ κεχόρτασμαι μὲν, ἄνδρες, οὐ κακῶς,
ἀλλ' εἰμὶ πλήρης, ὥστε καὶ μόλις πάννυ
ὑπεδησάμην ἅπαντα δρῶν τὰς ἐμβάδας.

8) Arist. *De. Part. Anim.* 4. 10. p. 687a. 28 :

ἀλλ' οἱ λέγοντες ὡς συνέστηκεν οὐ καλῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀλλὰ χείριστα τῶν ζώων (ἀνυπόδητόν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶναι φασὶ καὶ γυμνὸν καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὄπλον πρὸς ἀλκήν) οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα μίαν ἔχει βοήθειαν καὶ μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀντὶ ταύτης ἑτέραν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ὥσπερ ὑποδεδεμένον αἰεὶ καθεύδειν.

9) Ar. *Ecc.* 313-315, and 319 :

ἐγὼ δὲ κατάκειμαι πάλαι χεζητιῶν,
τὰς ἐμβάδας ζητῶν λαβεῖν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ
καὶ θοιμάτιον· ὅτε δὴ δ' ἐκείνο ψηλαφῶν
οὐκ ἐδυνάμην εὐρεῖν . . .

. . . λαμβάνω

τουτὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἡμιδιπλοῖδιον
καὶ τὰς ἐκείνης Περσικὰς ὑφέλκομαι.⁵

¹ Pseud.-Plutarch, *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 842 C.

² Plutarch, *Phocion* 4.

³ *Women* did not usually remove their shoes indoors, except at night. Cf. *s.v.* Περσικαί, *infra*, p. 89.

⁴ Ap. Ath. 3. 100 A.

⁵ This whole passage is beautifully illustrated by the marble relief of Aesculapius and the sick man (Hirt. *Bilderbuch f. Myth. Arch. u. Kunst*, I, XI, 3). The

10) Id. *ibid.* 340-347:

. . . καὶ γὰρ ἡ ξύνειμ' ἐγὼ
φρουδῇ 'στ' ἔχουσα θοῖμάτιον οὐγὼ 'φόρουν.
κοῦ τοῦτο λυπεῖ μ', ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐμβάδας.
οὐκουν λαβεῖν γ' αὐτὰς ἐδυνάμην οὐδαμοῦ.

ΒΑ. μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον οὐδ' ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰς ἐμὰς
Λακωνικὰς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτυχον χεῖρητιῶν,
ἐς τὼ κοθόρνῳ τὼ πόδ' ἐνθεῖς ἵεμαι,
ἵνα μὴ 'γχεσάμ' ἐς τὴν σισύραν· etc.

11) Crates, *Theor. frag.* 15 (Kock, I, p. 134)¹:

ἀλλ' ἀντίθες τοι· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὰ πάμπαιιν
τὰ θερμὰ λουτρὰ πρῶτον ἄξω τοῖς ἐμοῖς
ἐπὶ κίωνων ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦ παιωνίου
ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης; ὥσθ' ἐκάστῳ ρεύσεται
εἰς τὴν πύελον. ἐρεῖ δὲ θῦδωρ 'ἀνέχετε.'
ἔπειτ' ἀλάβαστος εὐθὺς ἤξει μύρον
αὐτόματος, ὃ σπόγγος τε καὶ τὰ σάνδαλα.²

Even out of doors in the warmth of a summer day, in the country vineyard or rambling by the cool river, it could have been no startling thing to see men of good station barefoot.³ Those of humbler station in good weather went unshod about their work. The monuments here show us that Plato⁴ is building on facts when he says of his visionary state that its inhabitants

12) σῖτόν τε ποιοῦντες καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ ὑποδήματα, καὶ οἰκοδομησάμενοι οἰκίας, θέρους μὲν τὰ πολλὰ γυμνοὶ τε καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι ἐργάζονται, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἡμφιεσμένοι καὶ ὑποδεδεμένοι.

two shoes placed neatly beneath the bed at the foot suggest the comical gropings of the old man above, when he does not find his *ἐμβάδες* in their accustomed place.

¹ Ath. 6. 268 A.

² It is clear that the bather removed his shoes on entering the bath. After his bath and anointing, they were brought to him, perhaps to keep his feet dry and clean while he was completing his toilet. For this purpose they may have had wooden soles (*cf. infra*, p. 79). It is just possible that the *σπόγγος*, here mentioned, may have nothing whatever to do with the bath, but be that used to clean and polish the sandals (*cf. infra*, p. 92).

³ *Cf. supra*, 5.

⁴ *Rep.* 2. 372 A.

But in the streets of the city (13), unpaved and miry as they were,¹ in journey abroad (14) or service afield,² and ever in winter when out of doors the men of Athens wore shoes³ (12, 15).

13) Ar. *Vesp.* 273-276 :

τί ποτ' οὐ πρὸ θυρῶν φαίνεται ἄρ' ὑμῖν ὁ γέρων οὐδ' ὑπακούει;
μῶν ἀπολώλεκεν τὰς
ἐμβάδας, ἧ προσέκοψ' ἐν
τῷ σκότῳ τὸν δάκτυλόν που.

14) Ar. *Eq.* 319-321 :

νῆ Δία κἀμὲ τοῦτ' ἔδρασε ταῦτόν, ὥστε καὶ γέλων
πάμπολον τοῖς δημόταισι καὶ φίλοις παρασχεθεῖν
πρὶν γὰρ εἶναι Περγασῆσιν ἔνεον ἐν ταῖς ἐμβάσιν.

15) Ar. *Vesp.* 445-447 :

... καὶ τοὺς πόδας χεიმῶνος ὄντος ὠφέλει
ὥστε μὴ ριγῶν ἐκάστοτ'. ἀλλὰ τούτοις γ' οὐκ ἔνι
οὐδ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν αἰδῶς τῶν παλαιῶν ἐμβάδων.

From this last passage it would seem that even the slaves in winter time were by good masters furnished with shoes,⁴ — perhaps had a right to expect them.

We should not then expect on Athenian streets to meet with many barefoot men; and, save in the balmiest weather, a closer look at those we saw thus unprotected would probably reveal to us, above the bare feet, the homely *τρίβων* and furrowed brow of the frugal philosopher⁵:

16) Aristophanes, *Nub.* 102-104:

αἰβοῖ πονηροί γ' οἶδα τοὺς ἀλαζόνας
τοὺς ὠχρῶντας, τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέγεις
ὧν ὁ κακοδαίμων Σωκράτης καὶ Χαιρεφῶν.

¹ Cf. Hermann, *Griech. Antiq.*³, Vol. IV, p. 137, and the passage in Ar. *Vesp.* 248 sqq., among others.

² Plato, *Sympos.* 220 B.

³ Cf. also 9 and 10 and especially 112.

⁴ Cf. also Xen. *Mem.* I. 6. 2: ζῆς γοῦν οὕτως ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἰς δοῦλος ὑπὸ δεσπότην δαισιώμενος μείνειε . . . ἀνυπόδητός τε καὶ ἀχίτων διατελεῖς; and *infr.*, 70.

⁵ Cf., for similar phraseology, Theocr. *Id.* 14. 5.

II. THE SHOEMAKER AND SOCIETY.

17) Ἐτι τὰ ὑποδήματα ἃ εἶχες ἔφησθα αὐτὸς σκυτοτομήσαι, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ὑφῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτωνίσκον.¹

Whatever the skill of the versatile Hippias, the average mortal did not make his own shoes in Athens more than with us, and somebody had to make them for him. The shoemaker, like all those craftsmen whose occupations kept them indoors and seated,² was pitied and despised by the athletic Greek, for shoemaking was essentially a sedentary occupation (18, 19, 101).³

18) Ar. *Plut.* 160-162 :

τέχναι δὲ πᾶσαι διὰ σε καὶ σοφίσματα
ἐν τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐσθ' ἡρῆμένα·
ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν σκυτοτομεῖ καθήμενος, etc.

19) Hippocrates, *De Artic.* 820 D⁴ : χειρώναξιν ἄρα τούτοισι χρέονται ὁκόσα ἢ σκυτικῆς ἔργα ἢ χαλκείης ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐδρεῖον ἔργον . . . etc.

The shoemaker was often a slave, perhaps master of his earnings above a daily toll due his owner, but bound to him, nevertheless. So Aeschines⁵ :

20) χωρὶς δὲ οἰκέτας, δημιουργοὺς τῆς σκυτοτομικῆς τέχνης ἑννέα ἢ δέκα. ὧν ἕκαστος τούτῳ δὴ ὀβολοὺς ἀπέφερε τῆς ἡμέρας, ὁ δ' ἡγεμὼν τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου τριώβολον.

When not actually a slave the shoemaker was used by comedian and philosopher as the type of the Philistine δῆμος (21).

21) Ar. *Eccles.* 431-433 :

εἴτ' ἐθορύβησαν κἀνέκραγον ὥς εὖ λέγοι
τὸ σκυτοτομικὸν πλῆθος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν
ἀνεβορβόρυξαν . . . etc.

¹ Plato, *Hipp. Min.* 368 C.

² Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 6. 495 D; Xen. *Oec.* 4. 2, etc.

³ Cf. Red-figured *cylix* in British Museum (*Berichte d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* f. 1867, Taf. 4, 5) and the famous, black-figured *Orvieto* vase (*Mon. dell' Inst.* XI, tav. 29. 1. = Baumeister, figg. 1649, 1650).

⁴ In Ar. *Eccles.* 385 sqq. the whole assembly is said to look like a conclave of shoemakers, from its pale, "indoor" complexion.

⁵ In *Timarch.* 97.

Like Shakespeare's "mender of soles," in *Julius Caesar*, his estimation was of the lowest. "τὸ σκυτοτομικὸν πλῆθος," says Aristophanes, above (21); "if haply a cobbler learn wisdom," says Plato, in the *Theaetetus*¹:

22) "ἵνα καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι αὐτῶν τὴν σοφίαν μάθωσιν ἀκούσαντες."

The χαλκεὺς, σκυτοτόμος, βυρσοπώλης, etc., are the "butcher, baker, and candlestick-maker," — the "Hob and Ned and Dick" of Greek literature² (23, 24).

23) Plato, *Sympos.* 221 E: ὄνους γὰρ κανθηλίους λέγει καὶ χαλκείας τινὰς καὶ σκυτοτόμους καὶ βυρσοδέφας καὶ αἰ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ταῦτ' αἰ φαίνεται λέγειν, ὥστε ἄπειρος καὶ ἀνόητος ἄνθρωπος πᾶς ἂν τῶν λόγων καταγελάσειε.

24) Ar. *Eq.* 738-740:

τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς τε κάγαθοὺς οὐ προσδέχει,
σαντὸν δὲ λυχνοπώλαισι καὶ νευροβράφοις
καὶ σκυτοτόμοις καὶ βυρσοπώλαις ἐπιδίδως.

In spite of the cobbler's humble position, his shop (σκυτοτομεῖον),³ in the region of the ἀγορά, or elsewhere, like the shops of barber and perfumer, was a favorite resort of loafers, and must have witnessed lively scenes, where all Athenians loafed of a morning (25, 26).

25) Lysias, *Or.* 24. 20: ἕκαστος γὰρ ὑμῶν εἵσται προσφοιτᾶν ὁ μὲν πρὸς μυροπωλείον, ὁ δὲ πρὸς κουρείον, ὁ δὲ πρὸς σκυτοτομεῖον, ὁ δ' ὅποι ἂν τύχη, καὶ πλείστοι μὲν ὡς τοὺς ἐγγυτάτῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκευασμένους, ἐλάχιστοι δὲ ὡς τοὺς πλείστον ἀπέχοντας αὐτῆς· ὥστ' εἴ τις ὑμῶν πονηρίαν καταγνώσεται τῶν ὡς ἐμὲ εἰσιόντων, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις διατριβόντων· εἰ δὲ κάκείνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων· ἅπαντες γὰρ εἵθισθε προσφοιτᾶν καὶ διατρίβειν ἅμοῦ γέ που.

26) Teles ap. Stob. *Flor.* 95. 21: Ζήνων ἔφη Κράτῃτα ἀναγινώσκειν ἐν σκυτεῖ καθήμενον τὸν Ἀριστοτέλους προτρεπτικόν . . . ἀναγινώσκοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν σκυτέα ἔφη προσέχειν ἅμα ράπτοντα.

In it apprentices might probably be seen, taking their first lessons in the mysteries of their craft (27, 28, 29).

¹ 180 D.

² Cf. also Plato, *Protag.* 319 D; 324 C; *Rep.* 5. 466 B; *Gorg.* 491 A.

³ For an excellent picture of a σκυτοτομεῖον, *vid.* the *Orvieto* vase, above (p. 62, n. 3) cited from *Mon. dell' Inst.* XI, tav. 29. 1. A good reproduction also in Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 1649.

27) Xen. *Mem.* 4. 4. 5: διὰ χρόνου γὰρ ἀφικόμενος ὁ Ἰππίας Ἀθήναζε παρεγένετο τῷ Σωκράτει λέγοντι πρὸς τινας, ὡς θαυμαστὸν εἶη τό, εἰ μὲν τις βούλοιτο σκυτεῖα διδάσασθαι τινα ἢ τέκτονα ἢ χαλκῆα ἢ ἱππῆα, μὴ ἀπορεῖν, ὅποι ἂν πέμψας τούτου τύχοι, etc.

28) Aristotle, *De Sophist. Elench.* 32. p. 184a. 4: ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἐπιστήμην φάσκων παραδῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸ μηδὲν πονεῖν τοὺς πόδας, εἴτα σκυτοτομικὴν μὲν μὴ διδάσκει μὴδ' ὅθεν δυνήσεται πορίζεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, δοίη δὲ πολλὰ γένη παντοδαπῶν ὑποδημάτων· οὗτος γὰρ βεβοήθηκε μὲν πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν, τέχνην δ' οὐ παρέδωκεν.

29) Plato, *Rep.* 5. 456 D: ἐν οὖν τῇ πόλει, ἣν ψκίζομεν, πότερον οἶε ἡμῖν ἀμείνους ἄνδρας ἐξεργάσθαι τοὺς φύλακας τυγχόντας ἥς διήλθομεν παιδείας, ἢ τοὺς σκυτοτόμους τῇ σκυτικῇ παιδευθέντας;

Here, too, customers might be measured for orders, as in the Orvieto vase already several times cited,¹ or shoes might be purchased ready-made, for we see from the monuments that the shoemaker's shop served as well for the display and sale of his wares. We have no Greek evidence for the open-air vending of shoes that is pictured in the famous Pompeian forum scenes.²

III. THE COBBLER AND THE TANNER.

The raw material from which shoes were made was much the same in Greece as it is with us to-day. The βυρσοτόμος, σκυτοτόμος (30) σκυτεὺς (27), as the very names given him would imply, dealt mainly with the hides of large animals (σκύτη,³ δέρματα,⁴ βύρσαι⁵), the commonest being that of the ox,⁶ and these had been previously dressed, or tanned. Exceptions to this rule are so rare that Xenophon, when the Ten Thousand were obliged to use undressed skins for their καρβάτιναι, thinks fit to mention the fact (37).

30) Plato, *Gorg.* 447 D: ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐτύγχανεν ὦν ὑποδημάτων δημιουργός, ἀπεκρίνατο ἂν δὴ πού σοι ὅτι σκυτοτόμος.

¹ *Vid. supra*, p. 63, n. 3. With this it is interesting to compare the like Roman scene, from the Herculaneum wall-painting published in *Pitt. d' Ercol.*, Tom. I, tav. xxxv, p. 187.

² *Pitt. d' Ercol.*, Tom. III, 41 sqq.

³ *Vid.* 31, 32.

⁴ *Vid.* 33.

⁵ *Vid.* 34.

⁶ *Vid.* 35, 36, 37, etc.

- 31) Plato, *Charm.* 173 D: τίνος ἐπιστημόνως λέγεις; ἡ σκυτῶν τομῆς;
 32) Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1. 11. p. 1101a. 4: . . . καὶ σκυτοτόμον ἐκ τῶν
 δοθέντων σκυτῶν κάλλιστον ὑπόδημα ποιεῖν.
 33) Plato, *Rep.* 2. 370 E: 'Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν πω πάνυ γε μέγα τι εἴη,
 οὐδ' εἰ αὐτοῖς βουκόλους τε καὶ ποιμένας τοὺς τε ἄλλους νομέας προσθεῖμεν,
 ἵνα οἱ τε γεωργοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀροῦν ἔχουσιν βοῦς, οἱ τε οἰκοδόμοι πρὸς τὰς ἀρωγὰς
 μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν χρῆσθαι ὑποζυγίοις, ὑφάνται δὲ καὶ σκυτοτόμοι δέρμασι
 καὶ ἐρίοις.
 34) Xen. *Apol. Socr.* 29: οὐκ ἔφην χρῆναι τὸν υἱὸν περὶ βύρσας παιδεύειν.
 35) Sappho ap. Hephaestion p. 42. 1. (*frag.* 98 Bergk):

θυρώρῳ πόδες ἐπτορόγυιοι,
 τὰ δὲ σάμβαλα πεμπεβόηα,
 πίσυργοι δὲ δέκ' ἐξεπόνασαν.

- 36) Ar. *Eq.* 314-318:

ΠΑΦ. οἶδ' ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦθ' ὅθεν πάλαι καττίεται.
 'ΑΔΔ. εἰ δὲ μὴ σύ γ' οἶσθα κάττυμ', οὐδ' ἐγὼ χορδεύματα,
 ὅστις ὑποτέμνων ἐπώλεις δέρμα μοχθηροῦ βοός
 τοῖς ἀγροίοικουσιν πανούργως, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι παχύ,
 καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν φορῆσαι μείζον ἢν δυοῖν δοχμαῖν.

- 37) Xen. *Anab.* 4. 5. 14: καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα
 ὑποδήματα, καρβάτινα πεποιημένα ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν.

The tanner (βυρσοδέψης (38 *et passim*), σκυλοδέψης or σκυλόδεψος (39, 40), βυρσοπώλης (24 etc.), σκυτοδέψης (41) or βυρσοποιός¹) seems as a rule to have been a different person from the cobbler, or shoemaker. Both trades are often mentioned in catalogues of professions,² and they are usually distinguished. But the tanner did sometimes make shoes and do other leather work as well. The Paphlagonian in the *Knights* fulfills this double function, and Theophrastus³ speaks of a σκυτοδέψης who repaired a torn wallet of leather.⁴

¹ Deinarch. ap. Poll. 7. 160, where βύρσα means, as usual, *tanned* hide.

² *Vid.* 24, 39, 42, and *cf.* Plato, *Symp.* 221 E.

³ *Charact.* 16. *Vid.* 43, *infra.* *Cf.* also the shoemaker's and tanner's tools found in one shop at Mayence along with boots and sandals. Blümner, *Technologie*, I, p. 281, fig. 29.

⁴ On this branch of the leather trade, *cf. infra*, 117: σκυτάρια ραπτὰ.

38) Ar. *Eg.* 44:

. . . οὗτος τῇ προτέρᾳ νομηνίᾳ
ἐπρίατο δοῦλον, βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγόνα.

39) Ar. *Av.* 490-492:

ἀναπηδῶσιν πάντες ἐπ' ἔργον χαλκῆς κεραμῆς σκυλοδέψαι
σκυτῆς βαλανῆς ἀλφитаμοιβοὶ τορνευτολυρασπιδοπηγοί,
οἱ δὲ βαδίζουσ' ὑποδησάμενοι νύκτωρ

40) Demosthenes, *In Aristogit. I.* (Or. 25. 38): ἔπειτ' ἐν τούτοις τὸν μὲν ταλαίπωρον Φωκίδην καὶ τὸν χαλκοτύπον τὸν ἐκ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὸν σκυλοδέψον καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων κατηγορήκε παρ' ὑμῖν εἰδ' ἀδικούντας τὴν πόλιν, etc.

41) Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 3. 18. 5¹: τῶν δὲ κλωνίων τῶν νέων ἐξ ἴσου τὰ φύλλα εἰς δύο κατ' ἄλληλα δὲ ἐκ τῶν πλαγιῶν ὥστε στοιχεῖν. βάπτουσι δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ σκυτοδέψαι τὰ δέρματα τὰ λευκά.

42) Ar. *Plut.* 513-514:

τίς χαλκεύειν ἢ ναυπηγεῖν ἢ ῥάπτειν ἢ τροχοποιεῖν
ἢ σκυτοτομεῖν ἢ πλινθουργεῖν ἢ πλύνειν ἢ σκυλοδεψεῖν.

43) Theophrastus, *Char.* 16: καὶ ἐὰν μὲς θύλακον ἀλφίτων διαφάγη, πρὸς τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἐλθὼν ἐρωτᾷ, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; καὶ ἐὰν ἀποκρίνηται αὐτῷ ἐκδοῦναι τῷ σκυτοδέψῃ ἐπιρράψαι, etc.

Of the process of tanning we learn little from writers within our period.² The *Knights* contains a good many references which later authorities enable us to interpret. *θρανεύσεται* (v. 369), *διαπαττα-λεuthήσει χαμαί* (v. 371), and *παραστορῶ* (v. 481) are all said by the scholiasts to mean "peg out," or "stretch out," as the tanner stretched his hides on bench or ground to clean them;³ and *παρατιλῶ* (v. 373) is explained by the tanner's practice of depilating the hides. As a preparation for this depilation, the hides were treated with a strong acid solution and the resulting ichor was in high favor as a fertilizer. So Theophrastus, who calls it *κόπρος*

¹ Of the *κυνόσβατος* or "dog-thorn."

² On the whole subject, see Blümner, *Technologie*, I, p. 257 sqq.

³ *Vid.* Blümner, *l.c.*

βυρσοδεψική or σκντοδεψική.¹ The actual process of tanning was performed much as it is to-day. We have mention of the bark of the pine (44) and the alder (45), the leaves of the myrtle (46) and of the sumach, or dog-thorn (41), as well as the familiar gall-apple (47).

44) Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 3. 9. 1: πεύκης γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἡμερον ποιοῦσι, τὸ δ' ἄγριον, τῆς δ' ἀγρίας δύο γένη· καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν μὲν ἰδαίαν, τὴν δὲ παραλίαν· . . . τὸ δὲ φύλλον λεπτότερον καὶ ἀμενηνότερον ἢ παραλία καὶ λειότερον τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ δέρματα χρήσιμον· ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα οὐ.²

45) Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 3. 14. 3: μονογενὲς δὲ καὶ ἡ κλήθρα . . . τραχύφλοιον δὲ καὶ ὁ φλοιὸς ἔσθθεν ἐρυθρὸς, δι' ὃ καὶ βάπτει τὰ δέρματα.

46) Hippocrates, *De Morb. Mul.* 1. p. 628. 22: . . . ἡ σιδίφ ῥόφ βυρσοδεψικῇ, μυρσίνης φύλλοισι καὶ βάτον ἐν οἴνῳ μέλανι ἐψέιν καὶ κλύζειν.

47) Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 3. 8. 6: κηκίδας δὲ πάντα φέρει τὰ γένη, μόνη δὲ εἰς τὰ δέρματα χρησίμην ἡ ἡμερίς.

The tan-yard was thus famed in ancient as in modern times for an odor, not "born to waste its sweetness on the desert air" (48, 49, 50).

48) Ar. *Eg.* 892:

. . . ἰαιβοῖ.

οὐκ ἐς κόρακας ἀποφθερεῖ βύρσης κάκιστον ὄζων;

49) Ar. *Pax.* 753:

διαβάς βυρσῶν ὀσμὰς δεινὰς κάπειλὰς βαρβαρομήθους.

50) Ar. *Vesp.* 38:

. . . παῦε, παῦε, μὴ λέγε·

ὄζει κάκιστον τοῦνύπνιον βύρσης σαπρᾶς.

And, if we may trust the scholiast on the *Acharnians*, 724, tanneries, like the abodes of the dead, must be outside the city limits.³

51) Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 724: τόπος ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος, Λεπρὸς καλούμενος, ἔνθα τὰ βυρσεῖα ἦν.

¹ Theophrastus, *De Caus. Plant.* 3. 9. 3; 3. 17. 5; 5. 15. 2.

² Blümner, curiously enough, has confused the *Idaea* and the *paralia* in spite of this plain statement. See *Technologie*, p. 263, n. 1. A rare instance of sleepiness.

³ That this was so in later times is shown by the passages from Artemidorus (*Onirocr.* 1. 51; 2. 20; 4. 56) which Blümner (*o. c.*) cites on p. 262, n. 1.

IV. THE SHOEMAKER AND THE SHOE.

The Athenian gentleman was as particular about the style and fit of his shoe as he was about the cut and hang of his *ἱμάτιον*. Plato recognizes the value in good looks of neatness here.

52) Plato, *Hipp. Mai.* 294 A: ὥσπερ γε ἐπειδὴν ἱμάτιά τις λάβῃ ἢ ὑποδήματα ἀρμόττοντα, κἂν ἢ γελοῖος, καλλίων φαίνεται.¹

The shoemaker, we may be sure, was as careful to wear fine shoes as the clothier's clerk is now to dress well, or the ragged bootblack, of the city street, to put a fine polish on his tattered underpinnings.

53) Plato, *Gorg.* 490 D: ἀλλ' εἰς ὑποδήματα δῆλον ὅτι δεῖ πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν φρονιμώτατον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ βέλτιστον. τὸν σκυτοτόμον ἴσως μέγιστα δεῖ ὑποδήματα καὶ πλείστα ὑποδεδεμένον περιπατεῖν;

The multitude of shoe-names which Pollux has preserved to us,—all of which I have found in writers before Theocritus, —testifies, more eloquently than any statement, to the variety and fastidiousness of taste that prevailed.²

The work on the shoe was hand-work, —the shoemaker guiding his simple tools, with the intervention of no machine.³ So Plato in the *First Alcibiades*:

54) Plato, *Alc. I.* 129 C and D: ὥσπερ σκυτοτόμος τέμνει πον τομεῖ καὶ σμίλη καὶ ἄλλοις ὄργανοις . . . τί οὖν; φῶμεν τὸν σκυτοτόμον τέμνειν ὄργανοις μόνον ἢ καὶ χερσίν;

These ὄργανα, as we see from the monuments, and from actual samples which have come down to us, were remarkably like our own. The tools for which we have literary evidence are the following:

A) The *knives* or *cutters*, τομεύς, and σμίλη.⁴

These two are evidently differentiated in the *Alcibiades* passage, above. The scholiast on the *Republic* 1. 353 A is more specific:

55) σμίλη ἐστὶν ὄργανον τμητικόν, ἰσόπεδον τὴν βάσιν ἔχων, ὡς τὸ ἐναντίον ὁ τομεύς κυκλοτερῆ. ἐστὶ δὲ σκυτοτομικὰ ἐργαλεῖα.

¹ *Vid.* also 64, 65, 89, *infra*.

² *Vid.* Pollux, 7. 80, 94, etc.

³ *Cf.* again the two vase-paintings referred to on p. 62.

⁴ *Cf.* σμιλεύματα, *Ar. Ran.* 819.

- B) The *stroph*, *πίναξ* (if Schneider's explanation be correct)¹ of the wood of the wild pear tree, *ἀχράς*.
- 56) Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 5. 5. 1 : τὰ δὲ μοχθηρὰ σιδήρια δύνανται τέμνειν τὰ σκληρὰ μᾶλλον τῶν μαλακῶν· ἀνίησι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μαλακοῖς . . . , παρακονῆ δὲ μάλιστα ταῦτα· δι' ὃ καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι ποιοῦνται τοὺς πίνακας ἀχράδος.
- C) The *last*, *καλόπους* (57) and
- D) An unnamed tool which served to smooth and shape the upper about the last.
- 57) Plato, *Sympos.* 191 A: ὁ δὲ τότε πρόσωπον μετέστρεφε καὶ συνέλκων πανταχόθεν τὸ δέρμα ἐπὶ τὴν γαστέρα ὥσπερ τὰ σύσπαστα βαλάντια ἐν στόμα ποιῶν, ἀπέδει κατὰ μέσσην τὴν γαστέρα ὃ δὴ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν καλοῦσι, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ῥυτίδας τὰς πολλὰς ἐξελέεινε καὶ τὰ στήθη διήρθρου ἔχων τι τοιοῦτον ὄργανον οἷον οἱ σκυτοτόμοι περὶ τὸν καλόποδα λεαίνοντες τὰς τῶν σκυτῶν ῥυτίδας.
- E) The *awl*, *ῥπας* or *ῥπήτιον*, both of which forms Pollux² gives, and both of which have been respectively emended into the passage of Nicochares's *Cretans* which he there strives to quote. Kock (I, 772) reads yet another form, *ῥπear* :
- 58) τὸ τρυπάνοις ἀντίπαλον ῥπear χιλίοις. Whatever may have been the exact form of the name, the awl itself was like those in use to-day.³

Besides these, whose names we know, or of which we have special mention, the monuments show us a hammer, a pair of pliers, a low, three-legged table, and a cutting board of some little thickness. Still, shoemaking was mainly an affair of the awl and the needle in the popular mind:

59) Plato, *Politic.* 180 C: τὴν τ' αὖ πηληγικὴν ἀφωρισάμεθα καὶ τὴν τῇ τρήσει καὶ ῥαφῇ χρωμένην σύνθεσιν, ἥς ἡ πλείστη σκυτοτομική. Indeed, this is true to-day, although the cutting and pounding are really as important. After the layers of the sole⁴ had been cut, and the upper, if there was to be one, shaped and fitted, the leather was pierced by the awl, and the parts stitched together with threads of

¹ *Ad Theophr.*, Vol. III, p. 436: *sunt tabulae ad quas cultros attritos sutores acuere solebant.*

² IO. 141.

³ Cf. upper left-hand corner of *Orvieto* vase.

⁴ *Vid. infra*, p. 90 sqq.

sinew (νεῦρα).¹ Hence, "to stitch" is often *νευροῤῥαφεῖν* (60, 61) and the shoemaker himself, by synecdoche, *νευροῤῥάφος* (62); although, in large cities, as Xenophon² tells us, where the cutting and pegging and stitching were performed by different hands, the term *νευροῤῥάφος* would be reserved for the *sewer*, as *σκυτοτόμος* for the *cutter* proper (24, 61). Blümner's contention³ that the *νευροῤῥάφος* was a *cobbler*, or *repairer*, of shoes, in distinction to *σκυτοτόμος*, *shoemaker*, does not seem to me a sound one. That there was any more stitching in the repairer's work than in that of the shoemaker is certainly not likely. The distinction I have tried to draw is more natural and goes equally well with the ancient evidence.

60) Plato, *Euthyd.* 294 B: αὐτῷ τῷ ὄντι πάντα ἐπίστασθον; οἷον τεκτονικὴν καὶ σκυτικήν; — πάνυ γ', ἔφη — ἥ καὶ νευροῤῥαφεῖν δυνατὸν ἔστων; — καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία καττύειν,⁴ ἔφη.

61) Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 2. 5: ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἐκάστου δεῖσθαι, ἀρκεῖ καὶ μία ἐκάστῳ τέχνῃ εἰς τὸ τρέφεισθαι, πολλάκις δὲ οὐδ' ὅλη μία, ἀλλ' ὑποδήματα ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεία, ὁ δὲ γυναικεία, ἔστι δὲ ἔνθα καὶ ὑποδήματα ὁ μὲν νευροῤῥαφῶν τρέφεται, ὁ δὲ σχίζων, ὁ δὲ χιτῶνας μόνον συντέμνων, ὁ δὲ γε τούτων οὐδὲν ποιῶν, ἀλλὰ συντιθεῖς ταῦτα.

62) Plato, *Rep.* 4. 421 A: νευροῤῥάφοι γὰρ φαῦλοι γενόμενοι καὶ διαφθαρέντες καὶ προσποιησάμενοι εἶναι μὴ ὄντες πόλει οὐδὲν δεινόν.

In general, however, a single shoemaker would cut and fit and finish the shoe, and terms properly confined to the makers of parts are loosely used for the general word.⁵ The curious word *πίσυγγος* (or *πίσυγγος*) is used for *shoemaker* by Sappho (35) and Pollux tells us that "some of the comic poets" also made use of it⁶:

63) Pollux; 7. 82: τοὺς δὲ τὰ ὑποδήματα ῥάπτοντας πῖσύνγους ἔνιοι τῶν κωμικῶν καλοῦσι καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια αὐτῶν πῖσύνγυα.

It would appear that in the finer shoes, and in new work, sewing alone was employed, it being a mark of rusticity or poverty to wear

¹ Cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 544: δέρματα συῤῥάπτειν νεύρῳ βοός.

² *Cyrop.* 8. 2. 5; *vid. infra*, 61.

³ *Technologie*, I, p. 270 and n. 4.

⁴ This is the proper word for "repair"; *cf. infra*, p. 71.

⁵ Cf. 26 *supra*: σκυτέα . . . ῥάπτοντα, and 63.

⁶ The word is found once in Alexandr. Aetol. ap. Athen. 15. 699 C, but this is somewhat later than our period.

"tapped" shoes, with nails in them.¹ So Teles says of the young Metrocles, when he was studying with Theophrastus and Xenocrates:

64) Teles ap. Stob. *Flor.* 97. 31²: τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔδει ὑπόδημα ἔχειν καὶ τοῦτο ἀκάττυτον ἡλούς οὐκ ἔχον, εἴτα χλανίδα, etc.

It was considered poor taste, also, to wear ill-fitting shoes. So Theophrastus³ makes it a sign of ἀγροικία.

65) . . . "μείζω τοῦ ποδὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα φορεῖν."⁴

The honest cobbler, skilled in his art, as Aristotle says, will make good shoes.

66) Aristotle, *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23: εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστιν ἀρετὴ σκυτικῆς καὶ σπουδαίου σκυτέως, τὸ ἔργον ἔστι σπουδαῖον ὑπόδημα.

But

Lack the will, or lack the skill,
So fares the luckless buyer ill.

Unscrupulous σκυτοτόμοι, by the use of split leather and leather cut transversely to look thick, would often provide such unpleasant surprises for their patrons as the Chorus in the *Knights* received at the hands of their Paphlagonian scoundrel (36, and cf. 14).

It was, as we have seen, as much a part of the shoemaker's work to repair shoes as to make them (67, 68, 69), but the wearer of "twice-cobbled" shoes was branded by Theophrastus as ἀνελεύθερος (69). The word for cobbling, pegging, repairing, resoling, and the like is καττύνειν (69, etc.), and the adjective παλίμνηγα (102; cf. 69), was applied to the cobbled shoe.

67) Plato, *Meno.* 91 D, E: καίτοι τέρας λέγεις, εἰ οἱ μὲν τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐργαζόμενοι τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐξακούμενοι οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο λαβεῖν τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας μοχθηρότερα ἀποδιδόντες ἢ παρέλαβον τὰ ἱμαῖα τε καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα.

68) Ar. *Lys.* 414-419:

ἕτερος δέ τις πρὸς σκυτοτόμον ταδί λέγει
νεανίαν καὶ πέος ἔχοντ' οὐ παιδικόν·
ὦ σκυτοτόμε μου τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ ποδὸς
τὸ δακτυλίδιον πιέζει τὸ ζυγὸν
ἄθ' ἀπαλὸν ὄν. τοῦτ' οὖν σὺ τῆς μεσημβρίας
ἐλθὼν χάλασον, ὅπως ἂν εὐρυτέρως ἔχῃ.

¹ Cf. *infra*, 69.

² *Char.* 4.

⁴ Cf. also *supra*, 14, 36.

³ This is just within our period, as we are speaking of Metrocles's early life.

69) Theophrastus, *Char.* 22 (ἀνελευθέρου ἐστὶ) καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα παλιμπήξει κεκαττυμένα φορεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὅτι κέρατος οὐδὲν διαφέρει.

It is pretty certain, however, that gentlemen sometimes violated this rule of Theophrastus, as such rules are transgressed by those who please, in all society.

V. THE SHOE.

Of the shoes themselves we are confronted with a bewildering variety. There were shoes for men and shoes for women¹ (61); there were good shoes and poor shoes (70); leather shoes and felt shoes (p. 93), and shoes with wooden soles (p. 79); there were sandals and slippers,² and half-boots,³ and top-boots;⁴ tall shoes for short people (71, 72),⁵ thin shoes for tall people (72); shoes for summer and shoes for winter.

70) Xen. *Oec.* 13. 10: ἱμάτιά τε γὰρ ἃ δεῖ παρέχειν ἐμὲ τοῖς ἐργαστήρσι καὶ ὑποδήματα οὐχ ὅμοια πάντα ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν χεῖρῳ, τὰ δὲ βελτίῳ, ἵνα ἡ τὸν κρείττω τοῖς βελτίοσι τιμᾶν, τῷ δὲ χείρονι τὰ ἥττω διδόναι.

71) Xen. *Oec.* 10. 2: ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἰδὼν ποτε αὐτήν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐντετριμμένην πολλῶ μὲν ψιμυθίῳ, ὅπως λευκοτέρα ἔτι δοκοίη εἶναι ἢ ἡν, πολλῇ δ' ἐγχούσῃ, ὅπως ἐρυθροτέρα φαίνοιτο τῆς ἀληθείας, ὑποδήματα δ' ἔχουσιν ὑψηλά, ὅπως μείζων δοκοίη εἶναι ἢ ἐπεφύκει, etc.

72) Alexis, *Isostasion*, frag. 98. 7. (Kock, II, p. 329):

τυγχάνει μικρά τις οὖσα, φέλλος ἐν ταῖς βαυκίσιν
ἐγκεκάττυται· μακρά τις, διάβαθρον λεπτὸν φορεῖ.

The general word for *shoe* appears to have been ὑπόδημα (2, 3, 4, etc., *passim*), as the word meaning "to wear shoes," "to be shod" was ὑποδεδέσθαι.⁶

¹ Cf. also Xen. *Oec.* 9. 6.

² Vid. s.v. βλαῦται, *infra*.

³ Vid. s.v. ἐμβάδες, *infra*.

⁴ Vid. s.v. ἐμβάται and κόθορνοι, *infra*.

⁵ So among the Medes, Xen. *Cyrus*. 8. 1. 41.

⁶ Cf. 73, *infra*, etc.

On the other hand, almost all the adjectival names of shoes, as *Περσικά*, *Λακωνικά*, etc., are feminines. All these, furthermore, as will be seen, are of the true *shoe*, or *sole-and-upper*, variety,¹ while the few neuters are all pretty certainly of the sandal type. We should therefore infer that *ὑπόδημα*, in accordance with its derivation, was originally a designation of the *sandal* only, while *ἐμβάς*, or some similar word, was used to denote the whole shoe-class, as we now conceive it. So far as I know, there is nothing to hinder this theory, especially since *ἐμβάς* still seems to carry a hint of its general use.²

The tragic word for *shoe*³ in general seems to have been *ἀρβύλη*. That this word does not indicate a particular style of shoe is evident, I believe, from the following facts:—

a) So far as I can find, a word for shoe occurs thirteen distinct times in extant tragedies and tragic fragments⁴:—ten times it is *ἀρβύλη*; once each, *εὔμαρις*, *κρούπαλον*, *πέδιλον*. This would indicate one of three things:—either *ἀρβύλη* was a particular kind of stock tragic boot, or the characters on whom it appears were like and in like situations, or *ἀρβύλη* meant simply “*shoe*.”

b) The word cannot denote the tragic boot or buskin, for in the fragment of Euripides, preserved to us in a fragment of Aristotle, *ἀρβύλη* is identified with *πέδιλον*,—and there is no doubt as to the nature of the latter.⁵

73) Aristot. *frag.* p. 1486b. 22⁶: τοὺς δὲ Θεστίου κόρους τὸν μὲν ἀριστερὸν πόδα φησὶν Εὐριπίδης ἐλθεῖν ἔχοντας ἀνυπόδετον·

τὸ λαὸν ἶχνος ἦσαν ἀνάρβυλοι ποδός
τὸ δ' ἐν πεδίλοις, ὡς ἐλαφρίζον γόνυ
ἔχουεν,⁷

¹ Except the *ἀπλά* (p. 80), which are doubtful both in form and gender.

² *Vid. infra*, p. 81.

³ Unless otherwise stated, I shall use the word *shoe* hereafter to include all footgear—this for convenience.

⁴ *Vid. Index, s.v. ἀρβύλη, κτλ.*

⁵ *Vid. infra, s.v. πέδιλον.*

⁶ Ap. Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 18. 19, where the passage of Euripides is twice quoted. *Vid. Nauck, Trag. Frag.* Fr. 530 of Euripides's *Meleager*.

⁷ Aristotle's quotation is inexact. Cf. n. 6, *supra*.

ὥς δὴ πᾶν τούναντίον ἔθος τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀριστερόν ὑποδέδεται, τὸν δὲ δεξιὸν ἀνυποδετοῦσιν· δεῖ γὰρ, οἶμαι, τὸν ἡγούμενον ἔχειν ἐλαφρόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ἐμμένοντα.

Here the Aetolians have one foot "without ἀρβύλη"; and the other "with πέδιλον." Either, then, ἀρβύλη = πέδιλον, or it is a perfectly general word, and ἀνάρβυλος is absolutely equivalent to ἀνυπόδετος.

But let us consider our second alternative. Is the ἀρβύλη used as we should expect a special kind of boot to be used, by like persons and under like circumstances? Here are the facts:

c) It is worn by women as well as by men; by the κλεινὴ δάμαρ of Zeus:

74) Eur. *Her. Fur.* 1303-1304:

χορευέτω δὴ Ζηνὸς ἡ κλεινὴ δάμαρ
κρύουσι· Ὀλύμπου δῖον ἀρβύλῃ πέδον,¹

and by the Chorus in the *Orestes* of Euripides (v. 140):

75) σίγα, σίγα, λεπτὸν ἵχνος ἀρβύλης
τίθετε, μὴ κτυπεῖτ', etc.

d) In Hippocrates, the epithet *πηλοπατῖς*, "mud-walker," is added, and the ἀρβύλη is there evidently a close-fitting and foot-supporting boot.

76) Hippocrates, *De Art.* 828 D: ὅτου δὲ ἐς ὑποδήματος λόγον εἶη, ἀρβύλαι ἐπιτηδειόταται αἱ πηλοπατίδες καλεόμεναι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑποδημάτων ἡκιστα κρατέεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ποδός, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖ μάλλον.

The word here is used exactly as a general word would be used.

e) In the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus the ἀρβύλη has a thong (cf. λύοι):

77) Aesch. *Ag.* 935 sqq.:

ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας
λύοι τάχος, πρόδουλον ἔμβασιν ποδός,
καὶ τοῖσδε μ' ἐμβαίνονθ' ἀλουργέσιν θεῶν
μή τις πρόσθωθεν ὀμματος βάλοι φθόνος.

¹ We must suppose this a fine shoe.

f) The passage from the *Hippolytus*¹ remains to be considered. It runs:

78) μάρπτει δὲ χερσὶν ἡνίας ἀπ' ἄντυγος,
αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν ἀρμόσας πόδα.

Here Monk, Paley, and others try to take αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν as "boots and all," and explain that Hippolytus in his hurry did not wait to change his walking-shoes for more proper attire. This view assumes that the ἀρβύλη was a very definite shoe, and that unsuited to driving, — for whatever reason. With Dindorf, however, I am inclined to accept the Scholiast's explanation as at least as satisfactory²:

79) αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν: ταῖς τοῦ ἄρματος περὶ τὴν ἄντυγα, ἐνθα τὴν στάσιν ἔχει ὁ ἡνίοχος.

80) So also Eustathius³: ἐνθα κεῖται καὶ ἀρβύλη οὐκ ἐπὶ ὑποδήματος ἐν τῷ 'αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν ἀρμόσας πόδα' αἱ δηλοῦσι τὸ περὶ τὴν ἄντυγα τοῦ ἄρματος μέρος, ἐνθα, φασὶν, ἡ τοῦ ἡνίοχου στάσις ἐστὶ.

At any rate it seems incredible that, with the line:

αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν ἀρμόσας πόδα (or πόδας)

and no other dative in the sentence (except χερσίν, above), we should take αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν with anything else than ἀρμόσας, or fail to take it with that verb.

In the remaining five passages in which the word occurs,⁴ it will bear either a general or particular interpretation. Both Orestes and Pentheus, who are mentioned as wearing the ἀρβύλη, were travellers, and if other things permitted, we might suppose it a heavy traveller's shoe, like the *πρλοπαῖς* of Hippocrates. But I think I have shown that the other evidence does not permit.

Smith's *Dict. Ant.*⁵ s.v. *Pero*, is, therefore, not correct in the statement: "The boots worn by shepherds and laborers in rough and muddy weather were usually of untanned leather and made at

¹ Eur. *Hippol.* 1188–1189.

² Vid. Schwartz, *Schol. in Eur.*, Vol. II, p. 125. Daremberg and Saglio also accept this view (vid. s.v. ARBYLE).

³ Eustath. *ad Il.* 5. 720, p. 599. 22.

⁴ Eur. *Orest.* 1465–1472; *Bacch.* 636–639; 1133–1134; *Elect.* 532–537; Aesch. *Phrygians*, *frag.* 259 (Nauck, *Trag. Frag.* p. 83, who refers this to *Phineus* and not *Phrygians*).

⁵ Vol. II, p. 373.

home. The Greek ἀρβύλη was of this kind, for the epithet πηλοπατὶς is given to it and it was used by travellers, hunters, and country-folk. It was apparently a low boot," etc. For a short passage the above is rather remarkable for ill-digested assertions. It is perhaps kinder to say no more, although one is anxious to know in which of the above categories Hera should be classified!¹

The word πέδιλον, as its derivation suggests, seems at first to have been used in a general sense for foot-wear of any kind. For though its regular classical use is of a shoe of the sandal type, Herodotus uses it of high boots reaching the knee:

81) Herod. 7. 75: θρήϊκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἄλωπεκῆας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ξευρὰς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν.

82) Herod. 7. 67: Σαράγγαι δὲ εἴματα γὰρ βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμᾶς, etc.

With these exceptions the πέδιλον may be pretty certainly identified with the σάνδαλον, or σανδάλιον;² the winged sandal of Perseus is called σανδάλιον in Herodotus.

83) Herod. 2. 91: οὗτοι οἱ Χερμῖται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφι, πολλάκις δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱεροῦ. σανδάλιον τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὐρίσκεισθαι, ἐὼν τὸ μέγεθος δίπηχυ.

While in Aristophanes and Euripides — or rather by Euripides, *propria persona*, and Euripides in caricature — πέδιλον is used for the same thing:

84) Eur. *Elect.* 458-463:

περιδρόμῳ μὲν ἵππος ἔδρα
Περσέα λαιμοτόμαν ὑπὲρ
ἄλῳς ποτανοῖσι πέδιλοι-
σι φύαν Γοργόνος ἴσχειν
Διὸς ἀγγέλῳ σὺν Ἑρμῇ
τῷ Μαίας ἀγροτῇρι κούρῳ.

¹ The later use of the word bears out its general sense. Cf. *Anth. Plan.* 306, 307, 308, where the same statue of Anacreon is successively spoken of as wearing one ἀρβυλῖς, βλαύτη, σάνδαλον, etc.

² That is to say, wherever we can definitely say what the πέδιλον is, it corresponds to what we know of the σανδάλιον. From most of the passages in which it occurs, we learn little of its nature.

85) Ar. *Thesm.* 1098-1102 (*Euripides loquitur*):

ὦ θεοὶ τίν' ἐς γῆν βαρβάρων ἀφίγμεθα
 ταχεῖ πεδίλῳ; διὰ μέσου γὰρ αἰθέρος
 τέμνων κέλευθον πόδα τίθημι' ὑπόπτερον
 Περσεὺς πρὸς Ἄργος ναυστολῶν τὸ Γοργόνης
 κάρη κομίζων.

Both πέδιλα and σανδάλια were occasionally worn by women (86, 87, 88).

86) Eumelus ap. Pausan. 4. 33. 2:

τὼ γὰρ Ἴθωμάτα καταθύμιος ἔπλετο Μοῖσα
 ἡ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.

87) Theopompus, *Pamph.* ap. Poll. 10. 49: θεόπομπος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Παμφίλῃ καὶ σανδάλια εἶρηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γυναικός.

88) Eurip. *frag.* 911 Nauck¹:

χρύσει δὴ μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νώτῳ
 καὶ τὰ Σειρήνων πτερόεντα πέδιλα
 [ἁρμόζεται,
 βάσομαί τ' εἰς αἰθέριον πόλον ἄρθεις
 Ζηνὶ προσμείζων.

But they were perhaps proper rather to men than to women² (87). Both are of the *strap-and-sole* variety, and not shoes with uppers:

89) Ephippus, *Nauf frag.* frag. 14 (Kock, II, p. 257)³:

ἔπειτ' ἀναστὰς εὖστοχος νεανίας
 τῶν ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας τις ὑπὸ Πλάτωνα τῶν
 Βρυσωνοθρασυμαχειοληψικερμάτων,
 πληγαῖς ἀνάγκης μαψιλογομίσθῳ τέχνῃ
 συνών τε κοῦκ ἄσκειπτα δυνάμενος λέγειν,
 εὖ μὲν μαχαίρᾳ ξύστ' ἔχων τριχώματα,
 εὖ δ' ὑποκαθιεῖς ἄτομα πώγωνος βάθῃ,
 εὖ δ' ἐν πεδίλῳ πόδα τιθεῖς ὑπὸ ζυγόν,

¹ Ap. Clement. Alex. *Strom.* 4, p. 642. The reference above is to the *Trag. Frag.* p. 655. I have followed Nauck's reading, which is rather doubtful.

² *Vid.* also note at end of this division (p. 79).

³ Athen. II, p. 509 C.

κνήμης ἱμάντων ἰσομέτροις ἐλίγμασιν,
 ὄγκῳ τε χλανίδος εὖ τεθωρακισμένος,
 σχῆμ' ἀξιόχρεων ἐπικαθεῖς βακτηρίᾳ,
 ἀλλότριον, οὐκ οἰκείον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
 ἔλεξεν 'ἄνδρες τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονός.'¹

90) Cratinus, *Nómoi. frag.* 131 (Kock, I, p. 54)²: τὸ δὲ σανδάλιον οὐ μόνον Μένανδρος εἴρηκε καὶ Ἡρόδοτος, ὥσπερ τὸ σάνδαλον Εὐπολὶς ἐν χρυσῷ γένει, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ κωμικοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις

Σανδάλια Τυρρηνικά.

These Τυρρηνικά are explained in 7. 92 as:

91) τὸ κάττυμα ξύλινον τετράγωνον, οἱ δὲ ἱμάντες ἐπίχρυσοι· σανδάλιον γὰρ ἦν, ὑπέδησε δ' αὐτὸ Φειδίας τὴν Ἀθηναίαν.

The distinguishing mark of these shoes was probably the ζυγόν, the strap, or rudimentary upper, which was fixed across the toes, and formed the first step in the progress from sandal or sole to the closed shoe. Compare the *Lysistrata* passage above quoted (68) and the Scholiast *ad loc.*³:

92) τὸν ζυγόν: ζυγὸς καλεῖται ὁ περικείμενος τοῖς γυναικείοις σανδαλίοις ἱμᾶς κατὰ τοὺς δακτύλους πρὸς τὸ συνέχειν ἐξυγωμένον τὸν πόδα. The sole⁴ was further held on by straps (ἱμάντες, 89, 91, etc.), interlacing across the foot and sometimes carried over the calf of the leg to form a graceful and useful protection (89). Becker seems keen in his inference from Cephisodorus's words, quoted by Pollux⁵:

93) Cephisodorus, *Trochion.* 4 (Kock, I, p. 801):

... Σανδάλια δὲ τῶν λεπτοσχιδῶν
 ἐφ' οἷς τὰ χρυσᾶ ταῦτ' ἐπεστὶν ἄνθεμα.⁶
 νῦν δ' ὥσπερ ἡ θεράπαιν' ἔχω περιβαρίδας.

¹ I have adopted for convenience Kock's reading except in two particulars: — I should propose ζυγόν as almost certain, for the MS. ξυρόν in v. 8, and between vv. 8 and 9 there is certainly a verse lacking, probably beginning, as Dobree conjectures, with εὖ δ' and so dropped out.

² Ap. Pollux, 7. 86 and 7. 92.

³ Rutherford, Vol. II, p. 183. So Hesychius.

⁴ Called πέλας by Nicander, *Georg.* ap. Athen. 9. 370 A. The classical word seems to have been κάττυμα (*vid.* 99, 100, 101, *infra*). ⁵ 7. 87.

⁶ Cf. the phrase χρυσεοσάνδαλον ἔχων, of Clytaemnestra, Eur. *Or.* 1468.

He reasons that the *σανδάλιον*, above mentioned, must have had more than a strap in sight in order to be thus "gold-embroidered." Hence the *ζυγόν* here must have been a considerable toe-piece.¹

The *Tyrrhenian* sandals, already referred to (90, 91), had, if we may believe Pollux, a four-square sole of wood, and gilded straps.² Such a shoe Phidias, he says, represented on the foot of the goddess Athena.

As to the statement of Hesychius³ which Becker⁴ accepts without question, that the *σανδάλιον* was a *woman's* shoe, the following statistics are interesting: *πέδιλον*, *σανδάλιον*, *σάνδαλον* or *σανδαλίσκος* — among which there seems to have been no radical distinction — occur 24 times in our period; in 6 passages they are *women's* shoes; in 2, indeterminate, and in 16, worn by *men*. *πέδιλον* occurs 12 times, and only once of women; *σάνδαλον* occurs 5 times, and only twice of women; *σανδάλιον*, in 5 times, refers to women thrice; and *σανδαλίσκος*, occurring twice, is once plainly a man's shoe, and the other time probably so. Further, the authority of the Scholiast on *Lysistrata* 68 (*quoted in 92 above*), which Becker interprets in his favor,⁵ should really count against him, since the very fact that the Scholiast speaks of *γυναικεία σανδάλια* would show that there were *σανδάλια ἀνδρεία* also. That the *ζυγόν*, however, was confined to women's sandals is contradicted by what we know of the monuments, even if my proposed reading in the fragment of Ephippus's *Castaway* be not accepted.⁶

Of much the same style as the *σανδάλια* were probably the *ῥάδια*, variegated shoes with long and intricate wrappings of thong (94), and the *κονίποδες*, which, we may suppose, covered little of the foot, but seem to have been rather elegant (95). The latter, however, may have been a kind of Chinese slipper, and without straps.

94) Plato, *Com. frag.* 251 (Kock, I, p. 665)⁷: *ῥάδια δὲ ποικίλον καὶ πολυέλικτον ὑπόδημα. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Πλάτων τε καὶ Φερεκράτης.*

¹ *Vid.*, however, Göll's note to Becker, *Char.* III, p. 272.

² *Cf.* the phrase *χρυσεοσάνδαλον ἔχων*, of Clytaemnestra, Eur. *Or.* 1468.

³ *s.v.* *σανδάλιον*.

⁴ *Char.* III, p. 272, ed. Göll.

⁵ *l.c.*

⁶ *Vid. supra*, p. 78, n. 1.

⁷ *Vid.* also Pherecrates (Kock, I, pp. 206, 227), and Pollux, 7. 94.

95) Ar. *Ecol.* 848 :

γέρων δὲ χωρεῖ χλανίδα καὶ κονίποδας
ἔχων, καχάζων μεθ' ἑτέρου νεανίου·
ἐμβὰς δὲ κείται καὶ τρίβων ἐρριμένος.

Here, too, belong the so-called ἀπλαῖ (96, 98) or ἀπλᾶ (96), affected at Sparta, consisting of a simple sole with no ζυγόν; for this, and not *single-thickness*, seems to be the correct interpretation of μονόπελμα below.¹ To the same effect is Hermippus's word αὐτοσχεδῖς or better αὐτοσχεδῖς (97).

96) Strattis, *Lemnomena*, frag. 24 (Kock, I, p. 718)²: ἀπλᾶς . . . Καλλίστρατός φησι τὰ μονόπελμα τῶν ὑποδημάτων οὕτω καλῆσθαι. Στράτις Δημνομέδῃ·

. . . ὑποδήματα

σαντῷ πρίασθαι τῶν ἀπλῶν . . .

97) Hermippus, *Demot. frag.* 18 (Kock, I, p. 229): αὐτοσχεδῖς ὑπόδημα τὸ ἀπλῶς εἰργασμένον, Ἑρμιππος εἶρηκεν ἐν Δημόταις.

98) Demosth. *In Con.* (Or. 54. 34): οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ἐσκυθρωπάκασι καὶ λακωνίζειν φασὶ καὶ τρίβωνες ἔχουσι καὶ ἀπλᾶς ὑποδέδονται. Probably we should also place here the καττύματα, rough soles, it would seem from the derivation of the word. κάττυμα is used of the sole of a shoe (99, 100, 101) and of the shoe itself (36, 102, 103).

99) Ar. *Eg.* 868–870:

. . . σκύτη τοσαῦτα πωλῶν

ἔδωκας ἤδη τουτῷ κάττυμα παρὰ σεαυτοῦ
ταῖς ἐμβασιν, φάσκων φιλεῖν;

100) Ar. *Ach.* 300–301 :

ὡς μεμίσσηκά σε Κλέωνος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὃν ἐ-
γὼ τεμῶ τοῖσιν ἱππεῦσι καττύματα.

101) Hippocrates, *De Morb. Vulg.* 5. p. 1153 D: ὁ σκυτεὺς κάττυμα κεντῶν ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ πιτύῳ ἐκέντησεν αὐτὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ γόνατος ἐς τὸν μηρὸν καὶ ἔβαψεν ὡς δάκτυλον.³

¹ Compare the word μονοχίτων, now accepted to mean "with *only* the χιτῶν" and not "with *only one* χιτῶν." ² Harpocrat. s.v.

³ This passage is another proof, if one were needed, that shoemakers *sat* at work.

102) Pollux, 6. 64: παλίμπηγα δὲ οἱ κωμικοὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καττύματα, καὶ παλινδορίαν (ὀνομάζουσι).

103) Ar. *Vesp.* 1159–1160¹:

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν τλαίην ὑποδήσασθαι ποτε
ἐχθρῶν παρ' ἀνδρῶν δυσμενῇ καττύματα;

The rest of the foot-wear which we can identify falls under the head of genuine shoes, in the modern sense, — consisted, that is, of a sole and a definite and considerable upper.

The ἐμβάς was of this class (7, 14, 15, etc.). It was worn by men only (9, 10, 104).

104) Ar. *Ecc.* 506–509:

ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα πρὶν τιν' ἀνθρωπον ἰδεῖν
ρίπτειτε χλαίνας, ἐμβὰς ἐκποδὼν ἔτω,
χάλα συναπτοὺς ἡνίας Λακωνικάς,
βακτηρίας ἄφεςθε.

It was fastened by a thong (105, 106), ἀγκύλη, or ἰμάς, and was, as a rule, a rough, cheap shoe (95, 107, 108, 109), such as slaves wore in winter (15). In the *Wasps* it is contrasted with Λακωνικάι (108). But in the *Ecclesiazusae* the distinction completely breaks down, the same pair of shoes being called Λακωνικάι once, and twice ἐμβάδες (*vid.* 9, 10, and v. 633 *not there quoted*). Two explanations are here possible: (1) that there were two styles of Spartan shoes in vogue at Athens,² a cheaper and a finer kind; or (2) the view which seems more plausible, that Aristophanes here in the *Ecclesiazusae* uses ἐμβάς in its original *generic* sense.³ So Herodotus,⁴ speaking of the Babylonian dress, mentions their

ὑποδήματα ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι βοιωτίῃσι ἐμβάσι.

105) Alexis, *Achaïs. frag.* 31 (Kock, II, p. 309)⁵: ἔστι δὲ ἀγκύλη καὶ εἶδος τι ἄμματος. Ἄλεξις Ἀχαιίδι· ἀγκύλην τῆς ἐμβάδος οὐ καλῶς ἔσφιγξας λυθεῖσαν. ἐχρήσαντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῇ λέξει.

¹ Of the Λακωνικάι. Here κάττυμα seems to be loosely used for shoe in general, by synecdoche.

² So Becker-Göll, *Char.* III, p. 278.

⁴ I. 195.

³ *Vid. supra*, p. 73.

⁵ Bekker, *Anecdota*, 338. 8.

- 106) Menander, *Deisidæmon*, frag. 109 (Kock, III, p. 33)¹:

ἀγαθὸν τί μοι γένοιτο, πολύτιμοι θεοί·
 ὑποδούμενος τὸν ἱμάντα γὰρ τῆς δεξιᾶς
 ἀπὲρ ῥῆξ'. B. εἰκότως, ὃ φλήναφε·
 σαπρὸς γὰρ ἦν, σὺ δὲ μικρολόγος ἄρ' οὐ θέλων
 καινὰς πρίασθαι. . . .

- 107) Ar. *Plut.* 846:

τὰ δ' ἐμβάδια;
 καὶ ταῦτα συνεχειμάζετο.

- 108) Ar. *Vesp.* 1157-1158:

ἄγε νῦν ὑπολύου τὰς καταράτους ἐμβάδας
 τασδί δ' ἀνύσας ὑποδοῦ τι τὰς Λακωνικάς.

109) Isaeus, *De Hered. Dicaeog.* 11 (Or. 5): εἰς τοῦτο ὕβρεως καὶ μαριᾶς ἀφίκετο. καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς ὀνειδίζει καὶ ἐγκαλεῖ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐμβάδας καὶ τριβώνια φορεῖ, ὥσπερ ἀδικούμενός τι εἰ ἐμβάδας Κηφισόδωτος φορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδικῶν ὅτι ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν τὰ ὄντα πένητα πεποίηκεν.

At any rate, whether we identify the Λακωνικαὶ and the ἐμβάδες, or not, they must have been very similar in shape and style. Like the ἐμβάδες, the Λακωνικαὶ were *men's* shoes (10, 104, 110, 111, 112, 113), and they were of the *sole-and-upper* type (114),² fastened like the ἐμβάδες with a strap or thong called ἡνία (*vid. supra*, 104). Pollux³ informs us that they were normally red in color, and the passage in the *Wasps*, above cited,⁴ leads us to infer that they were actual exports from Sparta, and not merely Spartan styles. In modern times our common lace-shoe is a fair representative of the ἐμβάδες-type, as opposed to the slipper and top-boot, on the one hand, and the sandal, on the other.

¹ Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 7. 4. 24.

² The mere fact that in the *Wasps* they are confounded with the ἐμβάδες shows that they were of the same style, — that is, ἐνδύματα of the foot, if we may so speak, and not mere ὑποδήματα.

³ 7. 88.

⁴ vv. 1157-1162. *Vid. supra*, 108, 103.

- 110) Ar. *Thesm.* 141-142 :

σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ὦ παῖ πότερον ὥς ἀνὴρ τρέφει;
καὶ ποῦ πέος; ποῦ χλαῖνα; ποῦ Λακωνικά;

- 111) Ar. *Ecc.* 73-75 :

καὶ μὴν τά γ' ἄλλ' ὑμῖν ὁρῶ πεπραγμένα ·
Λακωνικὰς γὰρ ἔχετε καὶ βακτηρίας
καὶ θοιμάτια τὰνδρεία, καθάπερ εἶπομεν.

- 112) Ar. *Ecc.* 268-271 :

ἄγε νυν ἀναστέλλεσθ' ἄνω τὰ χιτῶνια ·
ὑποδεῖσθε δ' ὥς τάχιστα τὰς Λακωνικάς,
ὥσπερ τὸν ἀνδρ' ἐθεῶσθ', ὅτ' εἰς ἐκκλησίαν.
μέλλοι βαδίζειν ἢ θύραζ' ἐκάστωτε, etc.

- 113) Ar. *Ecc.* 542-546 :

... αἱ δὲ δὴ Λακωνικαὶ
ᾤχοντο μετὰ σοῦ κατὰ τί χῆ βακτηρία;
ἵνα θοιμάτιον σώσαιμι μεθνπεδησάμην
μιμουμένη σε καὶ κτυποῦσα τοῖν ποδοῖν
καὶ τοὺς λίθους παίονσα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ.

- 114) Ar. *Vesp.* 1161-1162 :

ἐνθες ποτ' ὦ τῶν κἀπόβαιν' ἐρρώμένως
εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἀνύσας. . .

The βλαῦται were shoes, or, more exactly, *slippers* of rather finer sort (115), very probably white in color (116). They may sometimes have had fancy, turn-up toes, after the Oriental and mediaeval fashion.¹ They were such shoes as a guest at a banquet would wear (118, 115, 116), and were thus affected by those who made of life one uninterrupted revel of luxurious indulgence (117, and *probably* 119).

- 115) Ar. *Eq.* 888-889²:

οὐκ ἄλλ' ὅπερ πίνων ἀνὴρ πέπονθ' ὅτ' ἀν χεσεῖη
τοῖσιν τρόποις τοῖς σοῖσιν ὥσπερ βλαντίοισι χρῶμαι.

¹ Cf. the use of the word *σύρων* in 117.

² This passage is another proof that men removed their shoes at banquets. One would infer that they were placed beneath the couch, perhaps behind.

116) Hermippus, *Moer. frag.* 47 (Kock, I, p. 237)¹:

χλανίδες δ' οὔλαι καταβέβληνται,
 θώρακα δ' ἅπας ἐμπερονᾶται,
 κημῖς δὲ περὶ σφυρὸν ἀρθροῦται,
 βλαύτης δ' οὐδεὶς ἔτ' ἔρως λευκῆς
 ῥάβδον δ' ὄψει τὴν κοτταβικὴν
 ἐν τοῖς ἀχύροισι κυλινδομένην,
 Μανῆς δ' οὐδὲν λατάγων ἀίει,
 τὴν δὲ τάλαιναν πλάστιγγ' ἂν ἴδοις
 παρὰ τὸν στροφέα τῆς κτηπαίας
 ἐν τοῖσι κορήμασιν οὖσαν.

117) Anaxilas, *Lyroroeus, frag.* 18 (Kock, II, p. 268)²:

ξανθοῖς τε μύροις χρῶτα λιπαίνων,
 χλανίδας θ' ἔλκων, βλαύτας σύρων,
 βολβοὺς τρώγων, τύρους κάπτων,
 ψὰ κολάπτων, κήρυκας ἔχων,
 Χῖον πίνων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις
 ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φορῶν
 Ἐφεσῆια γράμματα καλά.

118) Plato, *Sympos.* 174 A: ἔφη γάρ οἱ Σωκράτη ἐντυχεῖν λελουμένον τε καὶ τὰς βλαύτας ὑποδεδεμένον, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ὀλιγάκις ἐποίει· καὶ ἐρέσθαι αὐτὸν ὅποι ἴοι οὕτω καλὸς γεγεννημένος. καὶ τὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ δαίπνον εἰς Ἀγάθωνος.

119) Lysippus, *Bacchae, frag.* 2 (Kock, I, p. 701)³: . . . καὶ Θετταλὶς δὲ ὑπόδημα μηνῶν τοὺς εὐρέτας. μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ Λύσιππος ἐν Βάκχαις·

βλαύτη, κοθόρνῳ, Θετταλίδι.

The κρούεζα, κρούπαλα were shoes with wooden soles, as Pollux⁴ tells us. We have mention of them as Boeotian and rustic (120, 121). They are called ἀμφίλινα once by Sophocles, — whatever that adjective may denote (121).

¹ Athen. 15, p. 668 A.

² Athen. 12, p. 548 C.

³ Pollux, 7. 89.

⁴ Id. 7. 87.

120) Cratinus, *frag.* 310 (Kock, I, 103)¹:

οὔτοι δ' εἰσὶν σοβοιωτοί, κρουπεζοφόρον γένος ἀνδρῶν.

121) Soph. *Capt. frag.* 41 (Nauck, *Trag. Frag.* p. 140): πατὴρ
δὲ † χρυσδὺς ἀμφίλινα κρούπαλα.²

The κρηπίδες of leather seem to have been boots with high tops,—perhaps the “golf-stocking” boots so common on the monuments (122, 123):

122) Xen. *De Re Equestr.* 12. 10: κνήμαι δὲ καὶ πόδες ὑπερέχουσιν
ἂν εἰκότως τῶν παραμηριδίων, ὀπλισθείη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰ ἐμβάται γένοιτο
σκύτους ἐξ οἴουπερ αἱ κρηπίδες ποιοῦνται· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἅμα ὄπλον τε κνή-
μαις καὶ ποσὶν ὑποδήματ' ἂν εἴη.

123) Hippocrates, *De Artic.* 828 C: ὑποδημάτων δὲ ποιέεσθαι μο-
λύβδιον ἐξωθεν τῆς ἐπιδέσιος ἐπιδεδεμένον, οἷον αἱ Χῖαι κρηπίδες, ῥυθμὸν
εἶχον.

So Aristocles, in Athenaeus,³ draws a distinction between κρηπὶς and ὑπόδημα which can only mean that κρηπὶς was a *boot* and not a *sandal*:

124) Athen. 14. 621 B: σεμνότερος δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶ ποιητῶν ὁ
Ἰλαρῶδης καλούμενος . . . καὶ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρήτο, ὥς φησιν
ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς, νῦν δὲ κρηπίσιν.

From the two following passages the κρηπὶς would seem to be a fine, well-fitting, close-shaped boot such as a woman would wear (125, 126), but our evidence is too meagre to give us any satisfaction.

125) Theophrastus, *Char.* 2: καὶ συνωνόμενος ἐπὶ κρηπίδας τὸν
πόδα φῆσαι εἶναι εὐρυθμότερον τοῦ ὑποδήματος.

126) Plato Com., *Zeus Kakoum. frag.* 46. 6 (Kock, I, p. 612)⁴:

. . . Ἀγενῶς οὐκ ἐῷ
παίξιν· τίθημι κοττάβεια σφῶν ἐγὼ
τασδί τε τὰς κρηπίδας αἷς αὐτῇ φορεῖ,
καὶ τὸν κότυλον τὸν σόν, etc.

¹ Schol. ad Pind. *Olymp.* 6. 152.

² As Nauck remarks, this is as yet an insoluble enigma.

³ 14. 621 B, and *vid. infra*, 124. Too much separate dependence must not be placed on this passage, as Aristocles's date is uncertain.

⁴ Athen. 15, p. 666 D.

Here, too, belong, without doubt, the Persian slippers, εὐμάριδες (127, 128), sometimes at least of crocus-color:

127) Eur. *Or.* 1370:

Ἀργείον ξύφος ἐκ θανάτου πέφευγα
βαρβάροις εὐμάρισιν. . . .

128) Aesch. *Pers.* 660-666:

βαλλὴν ἀρχαῖος βαλλὴν
ἴθι, ἰκοῦ,
ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμ-
βον ὄχθου, κροκόβαπτον
ποδὸς εὐμαριν αἰείρων
βασιλείου τιάρας
φάλαρον πιφαύσκων.

And here, also, the Ἀργεῖαι σχισταί (129), with long opening at the front, — perhaps like the high boots which Pollux calls ἐνδρομίδες:

129) Eupolis, *Phil. frag.* 266 (Kock, I, p. 331)¹: . . . οὐ δεινὰ ταῦτα δὲ Ἀργείας φορεῖν σχιστὰς ἐνεργεῖν.

And here, finally, the tall ἐμβάται, Xenophon's cavalry boots of leather (122),² so common on the monuments, but mentioned only here in the literature of our period. One wonders what could have been the every-day name.

The καρβάτιναι, mentioned in the *Anabasis*,³ and alluded to by Aristotle (130), may have been, as Becker suggests,⁴ the commonest covering for rustic feet, but this is rather conjecture than judgment upon evidence. From the two passages before us I should infer that the καρβατίνη was of loose, baggy appearance (130), held together by straps (130, 37), and sometimes, probably usually, of untanned leather, and of home manufacture. The monuments bear out this view:

130) Arist. *Hist. Anim.* 2. 1. p. 499a. 29: διὸ καὶ τὰς εἰς πόλεμον ἰούσας (καμήλους) ὑποδοῦσι καρβατίναις ὅταν ἀλγήσωσιν.

¹ *Vid.*, however, Kock's note on this disputed passage. It is cited by Ammon. *Differ. verb.* p. 133.

² *Vid.* also *infra*, 155.

³ 4. 5. 14. *Vid. supra*, 37.

⁴ Becker-Göll, *Char.* III, p. 280.

Of the *καρκίνοι* (131), the *προσχίσματα* (132), and the *παλινδορία* (133, 102) we know little but the names, and can only guess at what they were. *παλινδορία* may, like *κάττυμα*, have been a rough and heavy sandal (102); *πρόσχισμα* was perhaps one of those split-leather abominations, of thin, single-layer soles,¹ and the *καρκίνος*, a boot like the *ῥάδια*, with crab-like twists to its fastenings, but this is the barest conjecture.

131) Pherecrates, *frag.* 178 (Kock, I, p. 198)²: *καττύομαι τοὺς καρκίνους.*

132) Ar. *frag.* 842 (Kock, I, p. 582)³: *προσχίσματα· εἶδος ὑποδήματος Ἀριστοφάνης.*

133) Plato, *Syrphax*, *frag.* 164 (Kock, I, p. 643)⁴: *σὲ μὲν, ὦ μοχθηρὲ, παλινδορίαν παίσας αὐτοῦ καταθήσω.*

The *κόθορνος* will serve as the transition from men's shoes to those of women. Of the same general type as the *κρηπίς*, it was properly, in Greece, at least, confined to the gentler sex (10, 134).

134) Ar. *Lys.* 656-657 :

*ἄρα γυνεκτόν ἐστιν ὑμῖν; εἰ δὲ λυπήσεις τί με
τῷδε τᾷψήκτῳ πατάξω ἕγω κοθόρνῳ τὴν γνάθον.*

Men who wore it were classed as effeminate and unmanly. It was thus the proper shoe for the festive Dionysus in the *Frogs*:

135) Ar. *Ran.* 45-47 :

*ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷός τ' εἶμ' ἀποσοβῆσαι γέλων
ὄρων λεοντῆν ἐπὶ κροκωτῷ κειμένην.
τίς ὁ νοῦς; τίς κόθορνος καὶ ῥόπαλον ξυνηλθέτην
ποῖ γῆς ἀπεδήμεις;*

136) Ar. *Ran.* 556-557 :

*... οὐ μὲν οὖν με προσεδόκας,
ὅτι καὶ κοθόρνους εἶχες, ἂν γινῶναι σ' ἔτι;*

¹ *Vid. infra*, pp. 90-91.

² Pollux, 7. 90.

³ Phot. p. 463. 21.

⁴ Hesych. *s.v.* *παλινδορία*. The expression is exactly equivalent to the modern "I'll tan your hide for you," "I'll make sole-leather of your back." On *παλινδορία*, cf. also 102, *supra*.

Even in Lydia, when Croesus would have the all-conquering Cyrus spare the people of his country, at the price of their manliness, he bids the monarch ordain them long *χιτώνες*, and harps to play like women, and *κόθορνοι* to wear :

137) Herod. 1. 155: ἄπειπε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήϊα μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφεας κιθωνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι καθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ὧ βασιλεῦ, γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι.

That they were high boots is shown by the jolly tale of Alcmaeon, in Herodotus' sixth book.¹ That worthy, it will be remembered, was promised by King Croesus as much of his treasure "τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ ἑωυτοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ." He dons a huge tunic with flowing *κόλπος*, and mighty *κόθορνοι*, and, coming to the treasure-house, falls on his face upon the heap and stuffs his breast and boots and mouth and hair with the shining wealth, so that "ἐξήιε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν μόγισ τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τεφ οἰκῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ· τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο." Upon which Croesus, with Oriental delight in a clever trick, loads him with as much again to bring with him to Greece.

The marked characteristic of the *κόθορνος* was that it had no *rights* and *lefts*, but, like the modern rubber-boot, misfitted either foot alike (138, 139):

138) Xen. *Hellen.* 2. 3. 31: ὅθεν δῆπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται (ὁ Θηραμένης)· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ· ἀποβλέπει δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων.

139) Xen. *Hellen.* 2. 3. 47²: ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὥς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν.

We may well suppose that such a boot slipped easily on the foot, and this the passage in the *Ecclesiastusae*³ seems to show.

Another piece of information, that comes to us from the same play, is that the *κόθορνοι* were identical with the *Περσικαὶ* (9, 10).⁴

¹ Herod. 6. 125.

² Theramenes's defence.

³ *Vid.* 10, *supra*.

⁴ Becker's supposition, that *κόθορνος* is here used slangily and loosely of the *Περσικαὶ*, without implying any other resemblance than that of fitting either foot, seems unnecessary and unwarrantable. The Oriental origin and use of the

That the latter were for women's wear is clear, not only from the above passage (9), but from the *Lysistrata* (140), to say nothing of the *female flea*, who wears them in the *Clouds* (141):

140) Ar. *Lys.* 229 (= 230):

οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνατενῶ τῷ Περσικᾷ.

141) Ar. *Nub.* 148-152:

. . . δεξιότατα
κηρὸν διατήξας εἶτα τὴν ψύλλαν λαβὼν
ἐνέβαψεν ἐς τὸν κηρὸν αὐτῆς τὸ πόδε,
κᾶτα ψυχέντος περιέφυσαν Περσικαί·
ταύτας ὑπολύσας ἀναμέτρει τὸ χωρίον.

We get an admirable picture of the Περσικαί from this last passage. Whether we can infer that they were, as a rule, *white* in color, is not certain.¹ One point we do get from the *Lysistrata* passage (140), and that is, that women, unlike their brethren, wore shoes in the house.²

The βαυκίδες, luxurious shoes (72), were of Ionian provenance, according to the Scholiast Aspasius, who quotes the word from Aristophanes's revised *Thesmophoriazusae*, but fails to cite the lines in which it occurs (142). They were, sometimes at least, worn by *hetaerae* (72), their shape admitting of insoles of cork to disguise defective stature:

142) Ar. *Thesm.* 2, frag. 342 (Kock, I, p. 482)³: βαυκὼν — τρυφερόν, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς Ἀραρῶς ἐν Καμπυλίῳ

βαυκά, μαλακά, τερπνά, τρυφερά.

μετετηγνέχθαι δ' εἰσὶν τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν βαυκίδων, ὃ ἐστὶν εἶδος ὑποδημάτων Ἰωνικῶν, οἷς αἱ Ἰάδες χρῶνται, οὐ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις μέμνηται.

The διάβαθρον, a thin, light shoe of style unknown (72); the Θετταλὶς, of which we know nothing, save from the company it keeps in the fragment of Lysippus (119); the Σικυνώνια, women's shoes of

κόθορνος is a strong confirmation of this identification with the "Persian" boot, and the uses of the two are in no way contradictory.

¹ So, however, Poll. 7. 92.

² So the monuments.

³ Aspasius, *ad. Arist. Eth.* p. 58 A.

luxurious type (143); the *Σκυθικάί*, quoted by Pollux¹ from Aristophanes; and the *περιβαρίδες* (144, 145), perhaps slippers, since *ἱμάντες* are not mentioned in connection with them, but associated with *hetaerae*, and once at least spoken of as cheap, servant's shoes (93); these complete the list of names of which we have any mention in extant works within our period. That many other names were in common use even in the fifth and fourth centuries, goes without saying. Herondas and Theocritus might have swelled our catalogue many times, but it has seemed best to confine ourselves rigidly to fifth and fourth century evidence.

143) Duris, ap. Athen. 4. 155 C: Πολυσπέρχοντά φησιν εἰ μεθυ-
σθείη καίτοι πρεσβύτερον ὄντα ὀρχεῖσθαι, οὐδενὸς Μακεδόνων ὄντα δεύτερον
οὔτε κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ ἐνδύμενον αὐτὸν
κροκωτὸν καὶ ὑποδοῦμενον Σικυνῶνα διατελεῖν ὀρχούμενον.

144) Ar. *Lys.* 42-48 and 53:

ΚΑΛ. τί δ' ἂν γυναῖκες φρόνιμον ἐργασαίμεθα
ἢ λαμπρόν, αἱ καθήμεθ' ἐξανθισμέναι
κροκωτὰ φοροῦσαι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμέναι
καὶ κιμβερίκ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας.

ΛΥΣ. ταῦτ' αὐτὰ γάρ τοι κᾶσθ' ἃ σώσειν προσδοκῶ
τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα χαὶ περιβαρίδες
χῆ' ἔγχευσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ χιτώνια.

. . . κτήσομαι περιβαρίδας.

145) Theopompus, *Sirens*, frag. 52 (Kock, I, p. 747)²: ὑποδοῦ
λαβὼν ἄνύσας τι τὰς περιβαρίδας.

These shoes, such of them at least as had uppers, were all shaped over lasts (*καλόποδες*),³ made in rights and lefts, by the rule.⁴ The soles were in several thicknesses ordinarily.⁵ These layers of the sole were probably called *προσχίσματα*, although this is not absolutely certain (146, 147).⁶

¹ 7. 88.

² Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 45.

³ *Vid. supra*, 57.

⁴ Or the *κόθορρος* joke would lose all its force. *Vid.* 138, 139.

⁵ *Cf.*, among other monuments, the so-called *Lemnian* Athena (Furtwängler, *Meisterw.* Pl. I-III), replicas of which are in most of the museums, — the Boston and the Fogg, among others.

⁶ *Cf.* with these passages the word *σχίζων* in 61, *supra*.

146) Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2. 19. p. 1392a. 32: εἰ γὰρ πρόσχισμα καὶ κεφαλὴς καὶ χιτῶν δύναται γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποδήματα δυνατὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ εἰ ὑποδήματα, καὶ πρόσχισμα καὶ κεφαλὴς καὶ χιτῶν.

147) Aristotle, *Probl.* 30. 8. p. 956b. 4: οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ ἐκ τούτου ποιήσασα, πλὴν ὡς μέρους, οἷον ἡ σκυτικὴ ὑπόδημα ἐκ προσχίσματος. ἐξ ἑκατέρου γὰρ γίνεται διττῶς ἢ συντιθεμένου ἢ φθειρομένου, and the layers were generally sewn together. This seems to have been the proper and original function of the *νευροβράφος*.¹ The upper (χιτῶν?)² was then sewn to the finished sole. One layer of the *κάττυμα*, or sole, may sometimes have been of cork³ or the whole *κάττυμα* in all its layers may have been of wood, as Pollux tells us of the *Τυβέρηνικά*,⁴ and we find in some samples still preserved to us.

The thongs, or thong, called variously *δεσμός*,⁵ *ἀγκύλη*,⁶ *ἡνία*,⁷ *ιμάς*,⁸ on the symmetrical display of which much thought was expended by the nice in such matters,⁹ were the sole means of fastening the sandal or the shoe, *proprie dictum*, to the foot. We have mention of them with the *πέδιλα* (89), *σανδάλια* (91), *ῥάδια* (94), *ἐμβάδες* (105, 106), *Λακωνικά* (104), and *καρβάτινα*.¹⁰ Boots, like the *κόθορνοι*, *ἐμβάται*, etc., and slippers, like the *βλαῦται*, etc., would have no need of straps.

Of the other parts of the shoe, the *γλῶττα* (148), and the *κεφαλὴς* (= *ζυγόν*?),¹¹ cannot be identified from sources at command. The *ζυγόν* has already been explained.¹²

148) Plato, *Zeus Kakoum. frag.* 51 (Kock, I, p. 614)¹³:

καὶ τοι φορεῖτε γλῶτταν ἐν ὑποδήμασιν,
στεφανοῦσθ' ὑπογλωττίσιν, ὅταν πίνητέ που,
κἂν καλλιερῆτε, γλῶτταν ἀγαθὴν πέμπετε.

¹ Cf. 61, *supra*.

⁷ *Vid. supra*, 104.

² *Vid.* 146, *supra*. But the interpretation of this word is uncertain. Cf. *edd. ad. loc.*

⁸ *Vid. supra*, 89, 91, 106.

³ *Vid.* 72, and cf. also Plato, *Polit.* 288 E.

⁹ Cf. 89, *supra*.

⁴ *Vid. supra*, p. 79.

¹⁰ Xen. *Anab.* 4. 5. 14.

⁵ *Vid.* Plato, *Pol.* 288 E.

¹² *Supra*, p. 78.

⁶ *Vid. supra*, 105.

¹³ Athen. 15. 677 A.

¹¹ *Vid. supra*, 146. One is tempted to refer the term *γλῶττα* to the curious double fold, perhaps of metal, running down the front of some of the sandals on the monuments. The best instance of this, though a restoration, occurs in the Lateran Sophocles.

They who take pains to get, are at pains to keep. We have mention by Menander of a costly, gilded sandal-case:

149) Menander, *Misog. frag.* 333 (Kock, III, p. 97)¹: Μένανδρος ἐν Μισογύνῃ καὶ ἐπιχρύσους σανδαλοθήκας λέγει.

Xenophon gives us a pretty glimpse of a well-ordered house where shoes, big and little, fine and rude, and garments, "each after his kind" are arranged in neat rows to the hand:

150) Xen. *Oec.* 8. 19: ὥς δὲ καλὸν φαίνεται, ἐπειδὴν ὑποδήματα ἐφελξῆς κέηται, κἂν ὅποια ᾖ, καλὸν δὲ ἱμάτια κεχωρισμένα ἰδεῖν, κἂν ὅποια ᾖ, καλὸν δὲ στρώματα, etc.

Shoes were cleansed and polished by means of a sponge (σπόγγος)² kept for that purpose, which did service instead of the more modern brushes.³ We have no mention of any dressing in use in our period, but it is natural to suppose that the μελαντήριον of later times⁴ was known at an earlier date as well. At any rate, then as now, the job was a disagreeable one, and, like that of cleaning a bicycle, was gladly relinquished to any one kind enough or paid enough to do it, though it was the man who shined his own shoes, whose shoes shone indeed.

151) Ar. *Vesp.* 600:

ἀλλὰ Θέωρος καί τοι οὐστὶν ἀνὴρ Εὐφημίδου οὐδὲν ἐλάττων,
τὸν σπόγγον ἔχων ἐκ τῆς λεκάνης τὰ μβάδι' ἡμῶν περικωνεῖ.

152) Athen. 8. 351 A⁵: ἀπαντήσας δὲ τινι τῶν γνωρίμων (ὁ Στρατόνικος) ὥς εἶδεν ἐσπογγισμένα τὰ ὑποδήματα καλῶς συνηχθέσθῃ ὥς πρᾶττοντι κακῶς, νομίζων οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐσπογγίσθαι καλῶς, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐσπόγγισεν.

Not merely, then, of the original leather hue, but white sometimes, and black sometimes, and sometimes red, were the Athenian shoes. Like a modern Oriental city, we must suppose that Athens and its streets presented a lively and vivid panorama of color.

¹ Pollux, 7. 87.

² *Vid.* 151, 152, and *cf. supra*, 11. The form σπόγγος also occurs.

³ As ladies still use sponges for this purpose.

⁴ Lucian, *Catapl.* 15.

⁵ As Stratoniceus was of Alexander's time, this story comes within our period, though Athenaeus tells it.

Again, although ox-hide was the more usual material for the shoes, we have seen how the Thracians made *πέδιλα* of fawnskin (81), and fine shoes of white or of purple felt are mentioned by several writers (153, 154, 155).

153) Cratinus, *Malthak. frag.* 100 (Kock, I, p. 45)¹: οὐ μόνον δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτιθέμενος πῖλος οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῖς ποσίν, ὡς δημοῖ Κρατῖνος ἐν Μαλθακοῖς.

λευκοὺς ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἔχων πῖλους.

154) Antiphanes, *Antaeus, frag.* 33 (Kock, II, p. 23)²:

ὦ τᾶν, κατανοεῖς τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν οὗτοσι
ὁ γέρων; B. ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν ὀψεως Ἑλληνικός.
λευκὴ χλανίς, φαιὸς χιτωνίσκος καλός,
πυλίδιον ἀπαλόν, εὐρυθμός βακτηρία,
βαϊὰ τε πέζα· τί μακρὰ δεῖ λέγειν; ὅλως
αὐτὴν ὄραν γὰρ τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν δοκῶ.

155) Duris, *Hist. ap. Ath.* 12, p. 535 F³: Δημήτριος δὲ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὑπόδεσιν ἣν εἶχεν κατεσκεύαζεν ἐκ πολλοῦ δαπανήματος· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ μὲν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἐργασίας σχεδὸν ἐμβάτης πίλημα λαμβάνων τῆς πολυτελεστάτης πορφύρας· τοῦτ' δὲ χρυσοῦ πολλὴν ἐνύφαινον ποικιλίαν ὀπίσω καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐνιέντες οἱ τεχνῖται.⁴ Kid and calf-skin boots must have been familiar, although we get no mention of them. Dog-skin was probably not used, and the kangaroo had still before him many years of unmolested and uncivilized existence.

Something in the line of real stockings appear to have been the foot-wear which Aeschylus, in his *Phrygians*,⁵ called *πέλλντρα*, and Critias,⁶ *ποδεῖα*. But Pollux seems to waver in his mind as to whether they were really *πῖλοι*, "hose," or *ἀναξυρίδες*, "knickerbockers." As he doesn't quote his passages, we can be no wiser

¹ Pollux, 7. 171.

² Athen. 12, p. 544. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀνταίῳ περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τρυφερότητος διαλεγόμενος φησιν κτλ.

³ *Vid. supra*, 122.

⁴ These tales of Demetrius belong most naturally to the period 306-301 B.C., and so fall just within our limits. Although the display was extravagant, the passage shows the resources at command for producing fine shoes.

⁵ *Vid.* 156, 157, *infra*.

than our guide. Whatever they were, Crates, in his *Tolmae* (as the editors will have it), speaks of ποδεῖα τριμίτινα, of *drilling*, — perhaps a ghostly precursor of the modern over-all!

156) Pollux, 7. 91¹: ἃ δὲ ποδεῖα Κριτίας καλεῖ εἴτε πῖλους αὐτὰ οἱητέον εἴτε περιειλήματα ποδῶν, ταῦτα πέλλυτρα καλεῖ ἐν Φρυγῖν Αἰσχύλος.

πέλλυτρ' ἔχουσιν ἐνθέτοις ἐν ἀρβύλαις.

157) Pollux, 2. 196: ὁ δὲ κωμικὸς Πλάτων καὶ ποδάρια εἶρηκεν καὶ ποδεῖα τοὺς περὶ τοῖς ποσὶ πῖλους Κριτίας ἅπερ Αἰσχύλος πέλλυτρα καλεῖ.

158) Crates, *Tolmae*,² frag. 34 (Kock, I, p. 141): τὰ δὲ πέλλυτρα καὶ εἶδος ὑποδήματος, ὥσπερ αὐτὰ ποδεῖα ταῦτόν ἦν ταῖς ἀναξυρίσιν, ἃς σκελέας τινὲς ὀνομάζουσιν. Κράτης ἐν (Τόλμαις).³

καὶ δὴ ποδεῖα τριμίτινα.

Finally, as to the prices of shoes and the shoemaker's earnings. We can learn almost nothing, but what we do get is very interesting. We have Aeschines's words in the *Timarchus*,⁴ setting the toll which the slave-cobblers had to pay their master at two obols a day for the journeymen and three for the foreman. This must, of course, represent *minimum* earnings. Lysias tells us that about eight minas a year⁵ was a very excessive charge for the shoes and clothes and laundry and hair-cutting of two small boys and a girl.

159) Lysias, in *Diogit.* 20: καὶ εἰς τοῦτ' ἦλθεν ἀνασχυντίας, ὥστ' οὐκ ἔχων ὅποι τρέψειε τὰ χρήματα, εἰς ὄψον μὲν δυοῖν παιδίοις καὶ ἀδελφῇ πέντ' ὀβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλογίζετο, εἰς ὑποδήματα δὲ καὶ εἰς ἱμάτια καὶ εἰς γναφεῖον καὶ εἰς κουρεῖον κατὰ μῆνα οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γεγραμμένα, συλλήβδην δὲ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου⁶ πλεῖν ἢ τάλαντον ἀργυρίου.

Of course prices must have varied very much with quality of the shoes purchased, but Aristophanes tells us that eight δραχμαί, or about \$1.50, was considered so extravagant a charge for ὑποδήματα that

¹ Nauck, *Trag. Frag.* pp. 83, 259, who refers the fragment, following M. Schmidt, to the *Phineus*, and not the *Phrygians*.

² Pollux, 7. 92.

³ The MSS. read 'Εορταῖς. Meineke emends.

⁴ Aesch. in *Timarch.* 97. *Vid. supra*, 20.

⁵ Roughly \$50 apiece per year.

⁶ Eight years. *Vid.* Section 29 of the *Diogiton*.

none but a brazen youth would dare to ask it of the silliest old woman.

160) Ar. *Plut.* 983 *sqq.*:

οὐ πολλά· καὶ γὰρ ἐκνομίως μ' ἡσχύνετο·
ἀλλ' ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἂν ᾗτησ' εἴκοσιν εἰς ἱμάτιον,
ὀκτὼ δ' ἂν εἰς ὑποδήματα, etc.

VI. INDEX VOCABULORVM SVTORIORVM.¹

ἀγκύλη = THONG OF ἑμβάς.

Alex. *Ach.* ap. Bekk. *Anecd.* 338. 8 (Kock, II, 309. 31).

ἀκάπττος = UNCOBBLED.

Teles, ap. Stob. *Flor.* 97. 31.

ἀνάρβυλος = WITHOUT SHOES, UNSHOD.

Eur. *Meleag.* ap. Macrob. 5. 18. 19 (*frag.* 530 N).²

ἀνυποδετεῖν = TO GO UNSHOD, TO BE BAREFOOT.

Arist. ap. Macrob. 5. 18. 19 (*frag.* p. 1486b. 22).

ἀνυπόδετος = UNSHOD, BAREFOOT.

Arist. ap. Macrob. 5. 18. 19 (*frag.* p. 1486b. 22).

ἀνυποδησία = THE STATE OF BEING BAREFOOT.

Xen. *De Rep. Lac.* 2. 3.

ἀνυπόδητος = UNSHOD, BAREFOOT.

Xen. *De Rep. Lac.* 2. 3; *Mem.* 1. 6. 2; Ar. *Nub.* 103; Plato, *Phaedr.* 229 A; *Sympos.* 220 B; Arist. *De Part. Anim.* 4. 10. p. 687a. 28; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 7. 13; Plut. *Phoc.* 4.

ἀπλάτ = SANDALS, SINGLE-SOLED (?).

Strattis, *Lemn.* ap. Harpocr. p. 265 (Kock, I, 718. 24); Dem. *in Con.* (Or. 54) 34.

ἀρβύλη = TRAGIC WORD FOR SHOE.

Hipp. *De Artic.* 828 D; Aesch. *Ag.* 935; *Phin.* ap. Poll. 7. 91 (*frag.* 259 N); Eur. *Bacch.* 638; 1134; *Elect.* 532; *Herc. Fur.* 1304; *Hipp.* 1189; *Or.* 140; 1470.

Ἄργεαι = SHOES OF UNKNOWN TYPE (= σχισταί [?]).

Eupol. *Phil.* ap. Ammon. *Diff. Verb* (Kock, I, 331. 266).

ἀρνακίς = SHEEPSKIN LEGGING.

Plato, *Sympos.* 220 B.

¹ This Index is intended to be fairly complete for the authors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. It is intended to embrace all the characteristic and technical terms relating to shoemaking, tanning, and the shoe, although there may be some few omissions.

² References to Nauck are to the numbering of his *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Ed. 2. 1889.

ἀσκιρίσκα = HALF-SHOES, FOR WINTER WEAR (?).

Hippon. *frag.* 22 Hiller (Bergk. 9).

αὐτοσχεδῖς = SANDAL (= ἀπλαῖ [?]).

Hermipp. *Demot.* ap. Poll. 7. 89 (Kock, I, 229. 18).

βαυκίς = WOMAN'S SHOE.

Ar. *Thesm.* II, ap. Aspas. ad Arist. *Eth.* p. 58 A (Kock, I, 482. 342);

Alexis, *Isost.* ap. Ath. 13. 568 A (Kock, II, 329. 98. 7).

βλαύτη = FINE, WHITE DRESS-SHOE FOR MEN.

Plato, *Sympos.* 174 A; Hermipp. *Moer.* ap. Ath. 15. 668 A (Kock, I, 237. 47); Lysipp. *Bacch.* ap. Poll. 7. 89 (Kock, I, 701. 2); Anaxil. *Lyrop.*

ap. Ath. 12. 548 C (Kock, II, 268. 18).

βλαύτιον = *dim. of foregoing.*

Ar. *Eq.* 889.

βύρσα = OX-HIDE, USUALLY TANNED.

Xen. *Apol. Socr.* 29; Ar. *Eq.* 892; Pax. 753; *Vesp.* 38.

βυρσεῖον = TANNERY.

Schol. ad Ar. *Ach.* 724.

βυρσοδεψεῖν = TO TAN HIDES.

Ar. *Plut.* 167.

βυρσοδέψης = TANNER.

Ar. *Eq.* 44; *Nub.* 581; Plato, *Sympos.* 221 E.

βυρσοδεψικός = PERTAINING TO TANNERS OR TANNING.

Hipp. *De Morb. Mul.* 1, p. 628. 22; Theophr. *C. P.* 3. 9. 3.

βυρσοποιός = TANNER.

Dinarch. ap. Poll. 7. 160.

βυρσοπώλης = LEATHER-MERCHANT, TANNER.

Ar. *Eq.* 136; 139; 740; 852; Pax. 270; 647.

γλάττα = PART OF A SHOE.

Plato, *Com. Zeus Kakh.* ap. Ath. 15. 677 A (Kock, I, 614. 51).

δέρμα = SKIN OR HIDE OF ANY ANIMAL, UNTANNED.

Ar. *Eq.* 316; Plato, *Polit.* 288 E; *Rep.* 2. 370 E; Theophr. *H. P.* 3. 8. 6; 3. 9. 1; 3. 14. 3; 3. 18. 5.

δεσμός = SHOE-STRING, STRAP.

Plato, *Polit.* 288 E.

διάβαθρον = LIGHT SHOE OR SANDAL FOR WOMEN.

Alexis, *Isost.* ap. Ath. 13. 568 A (Kock, II, 329. 98. 8).

διαπατταλεύειν = TO PEG OUT, LIKE A HIDE, TO DRY.

Ar. *Eq.* 371.

ἐγκαπτεύειν = TO STITCH IN, OF SOLES.

Alexis, *Isost. l.c.*

ἐμβάδιον = *following, q.v.*

Ar. *Vesp.* 600; *Plut.* 846; 941.

ἐμβάς = ROUGH SHOE, IN COMMON USE FOR MEN.

Herod. 1. 195; Ar. *Eq.* 321; 869; 870; 875; *Nub.* 719; 859; *Vesp.*

- 103; 104; 275; 447; 1157; *Ecccl.* 47; 314; 342; 507; 633; 850; *Plut.* 759; Theopomp. ap. Schol. Plat. 330 Bekk. (Kock, I, 748. 57); Alexis, *Ach.* ap. Bekk. *Anecd.* 339. 8 (Kock, II, 309. 31); Eubul. *Dolon.* ap. Ath. 3. 100 A (Kock, II, 175. 30); Menand. *Deisid.* ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. 4. 24 (Kock, III, 33. 109); Isaeus, *De Dic. Hered.* 11.
- ἐμβάτης** = HIGH HUNTING- AND RIDING-BOOT.
Xen. *De Re Equest.* 12. 10; Duris, *Hist.* ap. Ath. 12. 535 F.
- ἐπιφράπτειν** = TO STITCH TO, OR SEW TOGETHER; MEND.
Theophr. *Char.* 16.
- εἰμαρίς** = BARBARIAN (PERSIAN) SLIPPER.
Aesch. *Pers.* 664; Eur. *Or.* 1370.
- ἑὺγος** = WORD FOR PAIR, OF SHOES.
Ar. *Eq.* 872.
- ἑυγόν** = TOE-STRAP, OR RUDIMENTARY UPPER, OF SANDAL.
Ar. *Lys.* 417; Ephipp. *Naufrag.* ap. Ath. 11. 509 C (Kock, II, 257. 14).
- ἦλος** = SHOE-NAIL.
Teles, ap. Stob. *Flor.* 97. 31.
- ἦνία** = SHOE-STRING, OR THONG OF *Λακωνικαί*.
Ar. *Ecccl.* 508.
- Θετταλῆς** = AN UNCERTAIN STYLE OF SHOE.
Lysipp. *Bacch.* ap. Poll. 7. 89 (Kock, I, 701. 2).
- θρανεύσθαι** = TO STRETCH OUT TO DRY, AS A TANNER STRETCHES HIDES.
Ar. *Eq.* 369.
- ἰμάς** = SHOE-STRING, OR SANDAL-STRAP.
Xen. *Anab.* 4. 5. 14; Ephipp. *Naufrag. l.c.*; Menand. *Deisid.* ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. 4. 24 (Kock, III, 33. 109).
- καλόπους** = SHOEMAKER'S LAST.
Plato, *Sympos.* 191 A.
- καρβατίνη** = RUDE SHOE, OF UNTANNED LEATHER (?).
Xen. *Anab.* 4. 5. 14.; Arist. *Hist. Anim.* 2. 1. p. 499a. 29.
- καρκίνος** = UNKNOWN KIND OF SANDAL.
Pherecr. ap. Poll. 7. 90 (Kock, I, 198. 178).
- καττίειν** = TO MEND, REPAIR, RESOLE, COBBLE SHOES.
Plato, *Euthyd.* 294 B; Pherecr. ap. Poll. 7. 90 (Kock, I, 198. 178);
Theophr. *Char.* 22.
- κάττυμα** = SOLE OF SHOE; A ROUGH SHOE.
Hipp. *De Morb. Vulg.* 5. 1153 D; Ar. *Ach.* 301; *Eq.* 315; 869; *Vesp.* 1160; Poll. 6. 164; 7. 92.
- καττεῖν** = TO PIERCE WITH THE AWL.
Hipp. *De Morb. Vulg.* 5. 1153 D.
- κεφαλῆς** = UNKNOWN PART OF SHOE.
Arist. *Rhet.* 2. 19. p. 1392a. 32 (*bis*).
- κόθορνος** = FINE HIGH BOOT, FITTING EITHER FOOT.
Herod. 1. 155; 6. 125 (*ter.*); Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 31; 2. 3. 47; Ar. *Lys.*

- 657; *Ran.* 47; 557; *Eccl.* 319; *Lysipp. Bacch.* ap. Poll. 7. 89 (Kock, I, 701. 2).
- κονίπους** = FINE SHOE FOR MEN (LIKE CHINESE CLOG [?]).
Ar. Eccl. 848.
- κρηπιδουργός** = SHOEMAKER, MAKER OF κρηπίς.
Dinarch. ap. Poll. 7. 183.
- κρηπίς** = HIGH BOOT (?) WORN BY BOTH SEXES.
Hipp. De Artic. 828 C; *Xen. De Re Equest.* 12. 10; *Aristocles* ap. *Ath.* 14. 621 B; *Theophr. Char.* 2; *Plato, Com. Zeus Kak.* ap. *Ath.* 15. 666 D (Kock, I, 612. 46. 6).
- κρούπαλον** = SANDAL (OF WOOD [?]).
Soph. Capt. frag. 41 N. -
- κρουπεξοφόρος** = WEARING THE κρούπεζον (= *supra*).
Cratin. ap. *Schol. ad Pind. Ol.* 6. 152 (Kock, I, 103. 310).
- Δακωνικά** = MEN'S SHOES, LIKE ἐμβάδες, BUT FINER.
Ar. Vesp. 1158; 1162; *Thesm.* 142; *Eccl.* 74; 269; 346; 508; 542.
- λαίνειν** = TO SMOOTH THE WRINKLES FROM SHOE.
Plato, Sympos. 191 A.
- μάσ(θ)λης** = Τυρρηνικόν, *q.v.*
Sappho, ap. Poll. 7. 93 (*frag.* 17. *Hiller*, 19. *Bergk*).
- νευρορράφειν** = TO STITCH SOLES; TO STITCH.
Xen. Cyrop. 8. 2. 5; *Plato, Euthyd.* 294 B.
- νευρορράφος** = STITCHER OF SOLES, SHOEMAKER.
Ar. Eq. 739; *Plato, Rep.* 4. 421 A.
- όπτεας, όπτεαρ, όπήτιον** = SHOEMAKER'S AWL.
Nicochares, ap. Poll. 10. 141 (Kock, I, 772).
- παλιμπηγα** = COBBLED SHOES.
Com. anon. ap. Poll. 6. 164.
- παλιμπηξίς** = PATCHING OR COBBLING OF SHOES.
Theophr. Char. 22.
- παλινδορία** = COBBLED OR ROUGH SHOE.
Com. anon. ap. Poll. *l.c.*; *Plato, Com. Syrrhax.* ap. *Hesych. s.v.* (Kock, I, 643. 164).
- παραστορεννύναι** = TO STRETCH FLAT, AS OF HIDES.
Ar. Eq. 481.
- παρατρίλιν** = TO DEPILATE, AS A TANNER DEPILATES HIDES.
Ar. Eq. 373.
- πίδilon** = SANDAL, WITH ξυγόν.
Herod. 7. 67; 7. 75; *Pind. Ol.* 3. 5; 6. 8; *Pyth.* 4. 95; *Eur. Elect.* 460; *frag.* ap. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 4. 26. 174 (*frag.* 911 N); *frag.* ap. *Macrob.* 5. 18. 19 (*frag.* 530 N); *Ar. Av.* 973; 974; *Thesm.* 1099; *Arist. Rhet.* 3. 11. p. 1412a. 31.
- πάλντρα** = LEG-WRAPPINGS, STOCKINGS, OR BREECHES.
Aesch. Phin. ap. Poll. 2. 196; 7. 91; 7. 92 (*frag.* 259 N).

περιβαρίδες = CHEAP SHOES OR SLIPPERS, FOR WOMEN.

Ar. *Lys.* 45; 47; 53; Cephisod. *Troph.* ap. Poll. 7. 87 (Kock, I, 801. 4);
Theopomp. *Sirens.* ap. Schol. ad Ar. *Lys.* 45 (Kock, I, 747. 52).

Περσικαί = WOMEN'S HIGH BOOTS (WHITE [?]).

Ar. *Eccl.* 319; *Nub.* 151; *Lys.* 229 (= 230).

πηλοπατίς = HIGH, ROUGH BOOT.

Hipp. *De Artic.* 828 D.

πῶλημα = FELT.

Duris, *Hist.* ap. Ath. 12. 535 F.

πυλίδιον = *dim. of foregoing*: A FINE FELT SHOE.

Antiph. *Antaeus.* ap. Ath. 12. 545 (Kock, II, 23. 33).

πῦλοι = LEGGINGS, OR A KIND OF FELT SHOE.

Plato, *Sympos.* 220 B; Cratin. *Malthak.* ap. Poll. 7. 171 (Kock, I, 45. 100); Poll. 2. 196; 7. 91.

πίναξ = SHOEMAKER'S STROP.

Theophr. *H. P.* 5. 5. 1.

πίσυνγος = POETIC WORD FOR SHOEMAKER.

Sappho, ap. Hephaestion, p. 42. 1 (*frag.* 98. Bergk); Com. anon. ap. Poll. 7. 82.

ποδάρια = *following, q.v.*

Plato, Com. ap. Poll. 2. 196.

ποδεία = LEGGINGS, STOCKINGS, OR BREECHES = **πέλλυτρα**.

Critias, ap. Poll. 2. 196; 7. 91; Crates, *Tolmae* ap. Poll. 7. 92 (Kock, I, 141. 34).

πρόσχισμα = UNKNOWN KIND OF SHOE.

Ar. *frag.* ap. Phot. p. 463. 21 (Kock, I, 582. 842).

πρόσχισμα = PART OF A SHOE, PROBABLY A LAYER OF SOLE.

Arist. *Rhet.* 2. 19. p. 1392a. 32; *Problem.* 30. 8. p. 956b. 4.

ῥάδια = SANDALS, WITH LONG THONG WOUND ABOUT LEG.

Plato, Com. ap. Poll. 7. 94 (Kock, I, 665. 251).

ῥάπτειν = TO SEW, TO STITCH.

Teles, ap. Stob. *Flor.* 95. 21; Ar. *Plut.* 513; Com. anon. ap. Poll. 7. 82.

σανδάλιον = SANDAL WITH **ζυγόν** = **πέδιλον**.

Herod. 2. 91; Cratin. *Nomoi* ap. Poll. 7. 68 (Kock, I, 54. 131); Theopomp. *Pamph.* ap. Poll. 10. 49 (Kock, I, 745. 44); Cephisod. *Troph.* ap. Poll. 7. 87 (Kock, I, 801. 4); Antiphanes, *Plousioi* ap. Ath. 8. p. 342 E (Kock, II, 89. 190).

σανδαλισκος = *foregoing, q.v.*

Ar. *Ran.* 405; Hipp. *frag.* 22. Hiller (Bergk. 9).

σανδαλοθήκη = SANDAL-BOX.

Menand. *Misog.* ap. Poll. 7. 87 (Kock, III, 97. 333).

σάνδαλον = **σανδάλιον**, *q.v.* *

Crates, *Ther.* ap. Ath. 6. 268 A (Kock, I, 134. 15); Sappho, ap. Hephaestion, p. 42. 1 (*frag.* 98. Bergk); Eumelus, ap. Paus. 4. 33. 2; Eupolis, ap. Poll. 7. 86 (Kock, I, 338. 295).

Σικυάνια = LUXURIOUS SHOES FOR WOMEN.

Duris, *Hist.* ap. Ath. 4. 155 C.

σκυλοδεψαίν = TO TAN HIDES.

Ar. *Plut.* 514.

σκυλοδέψης = TANNER.

Ar. *Av.* 490, *Ecc.* 420.

σκυλόδεψος = TANNER.

Dem. in *Aristog.* I. 38 (Or. 25).

σκυτεῖον = COBBLER'S SHOP, SHOE-SHOP.

Teles, ap. Stob. *Flor.* 95. 21.

σκυτεύειν = TO WORK LEATHER, TO COBBLE.

Xen. *Mem.* 4. 2. 22.

σκυτεύς = SHOEMAKER, COBBLER.

Hipp. *De Morb. Vulg.* 5. 1153 D; Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 37; 4. 4. 5; Plato, *Gorg.* 491 A; *Rep.* 10. 601 C; Ar. *Av.* 491; Teles, ap. Stob. *Flor.* 95. 21; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1. 6. p. 1097b. 29; *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23; *Pol.* 2. 1. p. 1261a. 36; *De Soph. Elench.* 177b. 14; *De Interpr.* 20b. 35.

σκύτευσις = SCIENCE OF SHOEMAKING.

Ar. *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23.

σκυτικός = PERTAINING TO SHOES OR SHOEMAKING.

De Art. 820 C; D; Plato, *Alcib. I.* 128 C; E; *Theaet.* 146 D; 147 B; *Charm.* 174 C; *Rep.* 2. 374 B; 5. 456 D; Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23; *Problem.* 30. 8. p. 956b. 4.

σκυτοδεψαίν = TO TAN HIDES, TO DRESS LEATHER.

Pollux, 7. 81.

σκυτοδέψης = TANNER.

Theophr. *Char.* 16; *H. P.* 3. 18. 5.

σκυτοδεψικός = PERTAINING TO TANNING OR TANNERS.

Theophr. *C. P.* 3. 17. 5 (*bis*); 5. 15. 2.

σκυτόδεψος = TANNER.

Plato, *Gorg.* 517 E.

σκύτος = HIDE, OR SKIN.

Xen. *De Re Equest.* 12. 10; Ar. *Eq.* 868; Plato, *Charm.* 173 D; *Sympos.* 191 A; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1. 11. p. 1101a. 4; *Pol.* 4. 4. p. 1291a. 19.

σκυτοτομείν = TO CUT LEATHER, BE A SHOEMAKER.

Ar. *Plut.* 162; 514; Plato, *Alcib. I.* 129 D; *Charm.* 161 E; 163 B; *Hipp. Min.* 368 C; *Rep.* 4. 443 C; 5. 454 C; Arist. *Pol.* 2. 11. p. 1273b. 12.

σκυτοτομείον = SHOEMAKER'S SHOP.

Lysias, *Or.* 24. 20.

σκυτοτομία = ART OF SHOEMAKING.

Plato, *Rep.* 3. 397 E; 10. 601 A; B.

σκυτοτομικός = PERTAINING TO SHOEMAKING. *

Ar. *Ecc.* 432; Plato, *Theaet.* 146 C; D; *Polit.* 180 C; 288 E; *Rep.* 1. 333 A; 4. 443 C; Aesch. in *Tim.* 97; Arist. *De Soph. El.* 32. p. 184a. 4; *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23.

σκυτοτόμος = SHOEMAKER.

Xen. *Hell.* 3. 4. 17; *Ages.* 1. 26; *Cyrop.* 6. 2. 37; *Ar. Eq.* 740; *Lys.* 414; 416; *Eccl.* 385; Plato, *Alcib. I.* 129 C; D; *Theaet.* 180 D; *Sympos.* 191 A; 221 E; *Protag.* 319 D; 324 C; *Rep.* 2. 370 D; E; 3. 397 E; 4. 434 A; 443 C; 5. 456 D; 466 B; 10. 601 A; C; *Gorg.* 447 D; 490 D; 491 A; 517 E; *Arist. Pol.* 4. 4. 1295a. 13; *Eth. Nic.* 5. 8. p. 1133a. 5; 19; 24; 32; 33; 9. 16. p. 1163b. 34; *Eth. Eud.* 3. 10. 1243b. 31; *Pol.* 2. 1. 1261a. 36; *Theophr. H. P.* 5. 5. 1; *Ameips. Conn.* ap. *Diog. Laert.* 2. 28 (Kock, I, 672. 9).

σμιλεύματα = LEATHER-FINDINGS.

Ar. Ran. 819.

σμίλη = SHOEMAKER'S STRAIGHT-EDGE CUTTING-KNIFE.

Plato, *Alcib. I.* 129 C.

σπογγίζαν = TO CLEAN, OR POLISH, OF SHOES.

Stratonic. ap. *Ath.* 8. 351 A.

σπόγγος = SPONGE, TO POLISH SHOES.

Crates, Ther. ap. *Ath.* 6. 268 A (Kock, I, 134. 15).

σφόγγος = foregoing.

Ar. Vesp. 600.

σχίζαν = TO CUT OUT SOLES (?).

Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 2. 5.

σχισταί = UNKNOWN SHOES (= 'Αργεῖαι [?]).

Eupol. Phil. (Kock, I, 331. 266).

τομέης = SHOEMAKER'S HALF-MOON CUTTER.

Plato, *Alcib. I.* 129 C.

Τυρβήνικόν = SANDAL WITH RECTANGULAR SOLE OF WOOD.

Poll. 7. 86; 92 (*Cratin. Nom.* Kock, I, 54. 131).

ὑποδίσθαι = TO PUT ON SHOES.

Herod. 1. 155; *Thuc.* 3. 22; *Xen. De Rep. Lac.* 2. 3; *Ar. Eccl.* 269; *Plato, Charm.* 174 C; *Sympos.* 174 A; 220 B; *Rep.* 2. 372 A; *Gorg.* 490 D; *Arist. Hist. Anim.* 2. 1. p. 499a. 29; *De Part. Anim.* 4. 10. p. 687a. 28; *frag.* p. 1486b. 22; *Duris*, ap. *Ath.* 4. 155 C; *Menand. Deisid.* ap. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 7. 4. 24 (Kock, III, 33. 109).

ὑπόδημα = SHOE, IN GENERAL.

Hipp. De Artic. 828 C; D; *Herod.* 1. 195; *Xen. Anab.* 4. 5. 14; *Cyrop.* 8. 1. 41; 8. 2. 5; *Rep. Lac.* 2. 3; *De Re Equest.* 12. 10; *Mem.* 1. 6. 6; *Xen. Oec.* 8. 19; 9. 6; 10. 2; 13. 10; *Lysias*, in *Diog.* 20; *Ar. Thesm.* 262; *Plut.* 985; 1012; *frag.* ap. *Suidas* (Kock, I, 593. 914); *Strattis, Lemn.* ap. *Harpocr.* p. 265 (Kock, I, 718. 24); *Hermipp. Demot.* ap. *Poll.* 7. 89 (Kock, I, 229. 18); *Plato, Com. Zeus Kak.* ap. *Ath.* 15. p. 677 A (Kock, I, 614. 51); *Plato, Phaed.* 64 D; *Meno.* 91 D; E; *Theaet.* 146 D; 147 B; *Legg.* 12. 942 E; *Charm.* 161 E; *Hipp. Maj.* 294 A; *Hipp. Min.* 368 C; *Alcib. I.* 128 A; B; C; E; *Rep.* 1. 333 A; 2. 372 A; *Gorg.* 447 D; 490 D; *Arist. De Soph. El.* 32. p. 184a. 4; *De Anim. Gen.* 1. 18. p.

723b. 31; *Probl.* 30. 8. p. 956b. 4; *Eth. Nic.* 1. 11. p. 1101a. 4; 5. 8. p. 1133a. 19; 24; b. 5; 9. 16. p. 1163b. 34; *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23; *Rhet.* 2. 19. p. 1392a. 32 (*bis*); *Pol.* 1. 9. p. 1257a. 4; Theophr. *Char.* 2; 4; Dicaearch. *Descr. Graec.* 19 (Müller, *Hist. Minor.* 1. p. 103); Aristocles, ap. Ath. 14. 621 B; Teles ap. Stob. *Flor.* 97. 31; Poll. 7. 82.

ὑποδημάτιον = *dim. of foregoing, q.v.*

Hipp. *De Artic.* 828 C.

φάλλος = CORK, CORK-SOLE.

Alexis, *Isost.* ap. Ath. 13. p. 568 A (Kock, II, 329. 98. 7).

χιτών = UPPER OF A SHOE (?).

Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 2. 5; Ar. *Rhet.* 2. 19. p. 1392a. 32.

THE ATTIC PROMETHEUS.

BY C. B. GULICK.

IN the second episode of the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus (vv. 439–506) the hero recounts for the benefit of the Oceanids his services to mortals, and even to the gods. So vehement is he in his declaration of what both owe to him as their benefactor, that one is led to suspect that the poet, who on one occasion appears to have dared to divulge even some secrets of the Eleusinian mysteries (Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 2), undertakes in this place also to set before his hearers some of the teachings which pertained to the worship of Prometheus πυρφόρος¹ in the Academy. In three distinct places Prometheus is made to assert his claim to the invention of certain benefits to the gods, and particularly to mankind, as against other possible claimants:

- 439–440. καίτοι θεοῖσι τοῖς νέοις τούτοις γέρα
τίς ἄλλος ἢ ᾗ παντελῶς διώρισεν;
467–468. θαλασσόπλαγκτα δ' οὔτις ἄλλος ἀντ' ἐμοῦ
λινόπτερ' ἠὔρε ναυτίλων ὀχήματα.
500–504. ἔνερθε δὲ χθονὸς
κεκρυμμέν' ἀνθρώποισιν ὠφελήματα,
χαλκόν, σίδηρον, ἄργυρον, χρυσόν τε τίς
φήσειεν ἂν πάροιθεν ἐξευρεῖν ἐμοῦ;
οὔδείς, σάφ' οἶδα, μὴ μάτην φλύσαι θέλων.

¹ Paus. i. 30, 2. That his title as a god in Athens was Προμηθεὺς πυρφόρος is inferred from Soph. *Oed. Col.* 55 f., ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς Τιτὰν Προμηθεύς, and Schol. This is probably a safe inference, though no inscriptions give it, nor is it mentioned by Eur. *Phoen.* 1122 or Paus. *l.c.* It is the founding of this cult which was celebrated in the Προμηθεὺς πυρφόρος of Aeschylus, the last play of the Promethean trilogy. Westphal, *Prolegg. zu Aeschylos' Tragödien*, pp. 220 ff., Wecklein, *Aeschylos' Prometheus*³, p. 20. The piece bears the same relation to the *Prometheia* as the *Eumenides* to the *Oresteia*. Cf. von Christ, *Griech. Litt.*³, p. 184.

We are so accustomed to take our facts about religion and mythology from Attic writers that we are apt to accept them as true for all Greece, and to regard these words of Prometheus as representing the faith of Thebans, Argives, and Corinthians, as well as of Athenians. But the polemical note in the last verse quoted (504) is unmistakable, and, as a matter of fact, the antagonism of his claim to that of the heroes of civilization in other Greek communities is remarkable.

In examining the extent of this divergence in belief, we need not take account of the stealing of fire. That was a deed ascribed to Prometheus by nearly all Greeks, the most notable exception being the Argives, who assigned the gift of fire to Phoroneus; Paus. ii. 19, 5: ἐξῆς δὲ τῆς εἰκόνης [sc. Βίτωνος] ταύτης πῦρ καίονσιν, ὀνομάζοντες Φορωνέως εἶναι· οὐ γάρ τι ὁμολογοῦσι δοῦναι πῦρ Προμηθεῖ ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ ἐς Φορωνέα τοῦ πυρὸς μετάγειν ἐθέλουσι τὴν εὖρεσιν. The Athenians derived their belief from Hesiodic tradition,¹ and the gift of fire is mentioned several times in the play. But it is noteworthy that it receives no mention in the passage included in 439-506, which, as I have suggested, contains a doctrinal exposition, and in the Attic cult the word *πυρφόρος* means not 'fire-stealer,' but 'fire-bearer,' in reference to the torch races held at the Prometheia.²

The gifts, then, on which the Attic Prometheus insists as his own contributions to civilization are:

1. House-building, 450-453.

This is not actually stated, but the implication is clear:

κοῦτε πλινθυφαῖς
δόμους προσείλους ᾗσαν, οὐ ξυλονργίαν·
κατάρυχες δ' ἔναιον ὥστ' ἀήσυροι
· μύρμηκες ἄντρων ἐν μυχοῖς ἀνηλίοις.

¹ In other respects disregarded by Aeschylus. Wecklein, *ibid.* p. 14. The Hesiodic *Theogony* contains nothing, with the possible exception of the myth of Cephalus, which can be accounted peculiarly Attic. Gruppe, *Culte und Mythen*, p. 606.

² Eur. *Phoen.* 1121 f.:

δεξιᾷ δὲ λαμπάδα
Τιτὰν Προμηθεὺς ἔφερεν ὥς πρήσων πόλιν.

Westphal, p. 220.

So far as I am aware, this is nowhere else ascribed to Prometheus. It certainly ran counter to the local traditions of Argos, for there Phoroneus, the first man, sprung from the ash,¹ built the ἄστυ Φορωνικόν. Pliny² says that the first houses in Athens, and by inference anywhere, were built by Euryalus and Hyperbius, who seem to have been Corinthians: *laterarias ac domos constituerunt primi Euryalus et Hyperbius fratres Athenis. antea specus erant pro domibus*. But he also says that Cecrops was the first to build a city. The Aeschylean version, however, is genuinely Attic, as may be seen from the Homeric hymn to Hephaistos (xx, Gemoll xix):

Ἥφαιστον κλυτόμητιν αἰέσσο, Μοῦσα λιγεία,
ὃς μετ' Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἀγλαὰ ἔργα
ἀνθρώπους ἐδίδασκεν ἐπὶ χθονός, οἳ τὸ πάρος περ
ἄντροις ναιετάεσκον ἐν οὔρεσιν, ἥντε θῆρες.
νῦν δὲ δι' Ἥφαιστον κλυτοτέχνην ἔργα δαίντες
ῥηιδίως αἰῶνα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
εὔκηλοι διάγουσιν ἐνὶ σφετέροισι δόμοισιν.

There is, to be sure, no certainty that this hymn had its origin in the Hephaisteia at Athens, nor is there any mention of Prometheus, but the close relation between the cults of Athena, Hephaistos, and Prometheus at Athens allows a fair presumption in favor of the Attic origin of the hymn, and at the same time this association led to a confusion of ideas, so that in many aspects Prometheus and Hephaistos became mere doublets. In this light verse 39 is very significant; Hephaistos there says: τὸ συγγενές τοι δεινὸν ἦ θ' ὁμιλία. Cf. 14 f.:

ἐγὼ δ' ἄτολμός εἰμι συγγενῇ θεὸν
δῆσαι βίᾳ φάραγγι πρὸς δυσχειμέρῳ.

It may be that this association was not completely effected until the fifth century, for Solon (*Frag.* 13, 49 Bergk) mentions only Athena and Hephaistos, and this points to the sixth century as possibly the latest date for the Homeric hymn.

¹ This seems to be the meaning of the poetic genealogy, according to which he was son of Inachos and the nymph Melia.

² *N. H.* vii. 194, cf. 198.

2. Knowledge of the seasons, and of astronomy, 454-458.

In the Argolic peninsula these were ascribed to Palamedes, as appears from Sophocles, *Frag.* 399 (Nauck), or to his father Nauplius.¹ Even Atreus is said to have been the first investigator in astronomy, though this may be due to the attempt of Euripides to give a rationalistic explanation of the famous ἡλίου μετάστασις.² Atlas, too, was the first astrologer, according to the euhemeristic account in Pliny.³

3. Numbers and counting, 459-460:

καὶ μὴν ἀριθμόν, ἕξοχον σοφισμάτων
ἐξηῦρον αὐτοῖς.

These were more generally thought to be the invention of Palamedes. Cf. Soph. *Fragg.* 399 and 438,⁴ Eur. *Fragg.* 578. Indeed, if C. Wachsmuth's conjecture is right, that the tragic fragment quoted by Stobaeus⁵ belongs to the Παλαμήδης of Aeschylus, we see that in the *Prometheus* the poet is uttering what contradicts his own opinion expressed in that fragment.⁶ It is strikingly like our passage:

¹ Theon ad Arat. *Phaen.* 27.

² *Iph. Taur.* 816. Yet cf. Soph. *Frag.* 672 (Nauck), Schol. Eur. *Or.* 998, Strabo i. 15, Eust. 1645, 58, where this knowledge is credited to Atreus.

³ *N. H.* vii. 203.

⁴ The inventions attributed to Palamedes in these fragments are these: (1) τεῖχος Ἀργείων στρατῶ. Cf. φρυκτωρίας καὶ φυλακάς, Schol. Eur. *Or.* 432, Plin. *N. H.* vii. 202. (2) Number and measure. Cf. Philostr. *Her.* x. *init.*, though weights and measures were first used by Pheidon of Argos, according to Plin. vii. 198. (3) Astronomical signs and navigation. (4) Stopped the hunger of the Greeks; an obscure story, told by Schol. Eur. *Or.* 432, according to whom this took place at Aulis; it is referred to by Eustathius, 228, 6, who quotes the fragment, but makes Troy the scene of the story. But evidently for λιμόν some understood λοιμόν, as Philostr. *Her.* x. Cf. Eust. *l.c.*, where the apparent contradiction between this and the Homeric version, according to which Apollo himself quells the pestilence, is explained in a rationalistic way. If, then, we may read λοιμόν in the Sophocles fragment, σὺν θεῷ εἰπεῖν in that fragment will mean, 'with proper reverence to the god, Palamedes was the human agent who brought release from the pestilence.' (5) Draughts and dice, Eust. *l.c.*, Schol. Eur. *Or.* 432, who adds ἀστροφάλοι. But Isidor. *Etym.* 18, 60, ascribes dice to a certain "Alea." (6) ψῆφος. Suid. *s.v.* Παλαμήδης, Schol. Eur. *l.c.*

⁵ *Anth.* i. 1 (Wachsmuth), *frag. adesp.* 470 (Nauck).

⁶ Hermann ascribed it to Euripides, joining it with *Frag.* 578.

ἔπειτα πάσης Ἑλλάδος καὶ ξυμμάχων
 βίον διόκησ' ὄντα πρὶν πεφυρμένον (cf. *Prom.* 450)
 θηρσὶν θ' ὅμοιον. πρῶτα μὲν τὸν πάνσοφον
 ἀριθμὸν ἡῦρηκ' ἔξοχον σοφισμάτων.

From this coincidence in expression Kiehl thought that these verses of the *Prometheus* (459-461) belonged originally in the *Παλαμήδης*. I prefer, however, to see in them an indication of the extent to which the imitation of Aeschylus might be carried in later times. This imitation, in turn, reacted on the plays of Aeschylus, so that — at least before the Lycurgan law¹ — serious alterations in the case of some of them were attempted with impunity.

4. Letters, 460-461.

To Palamedes, again, this invention was referred by Stesichorus ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀρεστιάς,² and he is followed by Euripides, *Frag.* 578, which belongs to 415 B.C.,³ and by Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 770, which is dated 411 or 410 B.C. Some ascribed only a few letters to Palamedes,⁴ as Z, Ψ, X, Φ. In the long discussion on this invention in Bekk. *An.* II, 781 ff., it is to be observed that the *Prometheus* is the only authority quoted for ascribing it to Prometheus. Other inventors there named (it was a famous ἀπόρημα in antiquity) are Musaeus, Sisyphus, Hermes and the Egyptian Thoth, Athena, Phoenix (so Duris), Cadmus (Aristotle and Ephorus). The tradition about Cadmus and the *Καδμήια γράμματα* goes back to a Milesian source.⁵ Tacitus⁶ records a belief, not elsewhere attested, that Cecrops was the inventor.

5. Domestication of the horse, 462-466.

According to authorities later than Aeschylus, Attic myth was disposed to refer this to Erichthonius,⁷ but generally specified only the

¹ Wilamowitz, *Herakles* I, 131.

² Schol. Dionys. Thrac. ap. Bekk. *An.* II, 781 ff., cf. *An. Ox.* IV, 318.

³ Ael. *V. H.* ii. 8.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* vii. 192, Serv. *Aen.* ii. 81, Suid. *s.v.* Παλαμήδης. In *An. Ox.* IV, 318 ff. we are told that Cadmus added Θ, Φ, and X to the letters invented by Palamedes.

⁵ Crusius in Roscher, *Lex.* II, 892.

⁶ *Ab excess.* xi. 14.

⁷ Eratosth. *Catast.* xiii. p. 98 (Robert), Verg. *Ge.* iii. 113, Plin. *N. H.* vii. 202, Hygin. *Astr.* ii. 13, Ael. *V. H.* iii. 38.

quadriga as his invention, and occasionally confused Erechtheus with Erichthonius,¹ so that the Aeschylean version has greater weight. Yet this is inconsistent with the notion that Libya was the home of horse-training and driving. Cf. Soph. *El.* 702 and 727 (Βαρκαίοις ὄχοις) with Suidas and Hesychius *s.v.* Βαρκαίοις ὄχοις· Λιβυκοῖς. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐσπουδαζον περὶ ἵπποτροφίαν. φασὶν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρώτους ἄρμα ζεύξαι διδασθέντας ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος, τὸ δὲ ἡνιοχεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς, ὡς Μινασίας ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λιβύης. In Corinthian mythology, much of which is derived from Argos,² the training of the horse was to some extent symbolized in the bridling of Pegasus by Bellerophon, with whom were associated Poseidon Δαμαῖος and Athena ἱππία or χαλινῆτις.³

6. Ships, 467-468.

Apollonius of Rhodes⁴ makes Nauplius the inventor. Poseidon gave the Phaeacians their ships, in sailing which they excelled all other men.⁵ In Argive mythology we have the story of how Athena helped Danaos to build the first penteconter, as she helped Jason to build the Argo.

7. Medicine, 478-483.

This attribution leaves entirely unrecognized the Apollo-Asklepios cult, with the heroes Podaleirios and Machaon,⁶ and Paian⁷ or Paion.⁸ Even Palamedes may be credited with this invention, too, if we may trust Philostratus.⁹ Aeschylus's account is the more noteworthy, in that the belief in a power to restore men from sickness to health might have been extended to include power to restore them from death to life, as in the case of Asklepios, who was apparently confused with Prometheus in the Phocian town of Panopeus.¹⁰ From belief in this power, in turn, the transition to a conception of Prometheus as creator of men is easy.¹¹ But we nowhere find in Attica in

¹ Schol. Aristid. III, 62, Dind., on Aristid. I, 170, Themist. *Or.* 27, 337 a.

² Bethe, *Theb. Heldenlieder*, pp. 180 f.

³ Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 61 ff., Paus. ii. 4, 1.

⁴ i. 138.

⁵ *Od.* vii. 35, cf. 108, Thuc. i. 25.

⁶ *Her.* x. Perhaps, also, Soph. *Frag.* 438, if we read λοιμὸν. Cf. p. 106, n. 4.

⁷ Paus. x. 4, 4.

⁸ Hence we find in Philostr. *Gymn.* 16, p. 30, a rationalistic explanation of the creation of man by Prometheus on lines running in the reverse direction. He

⁹ Welcker, *Kl. Schrift.* III, 46 ff.

¹⁰ *Il.* v. 401, 899.

¹¹ Solon, *Frag.* 13, 57 (Bergk).

the fifth century a trace of this belief, which was steadfastly held in Phocis, and the spot where Prometheus fashioned men from the soil was pointed out near Panopeus.¹ The legend has its parallel in the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha. The suspected statement in Lactantius Placidus² that Hesiod was the first to attribute the creation of man to Prometheus is due to confusion in the mind of the writer, possibly arising out of the proximity of Phocis and Boeotia. In Attica, at any rate, it would contradict the more popular faith in autochthony,³ and the earliest indication of it there in the literature is found in the fourth century in Philemon (*Frag.* 89 K.), himself not an Athenian by birth.

8. Various modes of divination, 484-499: (*a*) by dreams, (*b*) omens and σύμβολοι, (*c*) flight of birds, (*d*) appearance of the entrails, gall, lobe, and (*e*) of the sacrificial fire.

All this is certainly at variance with Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 203, however untrustworthy his record of the tradition may be. He gives it thus: *auguria ex avibus (c) Car a quo Caria appellata; adiecit ex ceteris animalibus Orpheus (b), haruspicia (d) Delphus, ignispicia (e) Amphiarus, extispicia avium Tiresias Thebanus, interpretationem ostentorum et somniorum (a) and (b) Amphictyon.*⁴ In the Argive-Theban cycle (*a*) belongs rather to Amphiarus.⁵ Aeschylus does not add, or even imply, that Prometheus invented sacrifice. That he did would be a natural inference from the Hesiodic story (*Theog.* 521 ff.) of the trick played upon Zeus, and was a notion perhaps not uncommon. Cf. Hesychius, s.v. Ἰθάς· ὁ τῶν Τιτάνων κήρυξ Προμηθεύς, and Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 209: *animal occidit primus Hyperbius Martis filius, Prometheus bovem.*

9. Mines of copper, iron, silver, gold, 500-503.

Erichthonius was the inventor of money, according to Pliny, *N. H.*

says that οἱ πλασθέντες ἐκ πηλοῦ ὑπὸ Προμηθέως ἄνθρωποι were those whose bodies Prometheus had 'formed' and trained in gymnastic exercises, whence he makes Prometheus the inventor of γυμναστική. Similarly, Theophrastus explained the fire of Prometheus as φιλοσοφία, Schol. Ap. Rh. ii. 1248.

¹ Paus. x. 4, 4.

² *Auct. Myth.* II, 788 (van Staveren).

³ Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* I, 82, n.

⁴ This last is unique and not noticed in either Roscher or Pauly-Wissowa.

⁵ Cf. Paus. i. 34, 5, ii. 13, 7.

vii. 197, while Hyginus, *Fab.* 274, says that he introduced the use of silver, discovered by Indus. Further, we may notice the Laconian Lynceus, who had eyes so sharp that they could pierce the earth and all solid objects. This was interpreted in euhemeristic fashion by late writers to mean that Lynceus was the first to discover mines of precious metals, and was, in fact, the first miner.¹ Again, Cadmus and Aeacus are associated with the discovery in Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 197.

This summary, which does not profess to be exhaustive,² may serve to show how far the attribution of these different inventions to Prometheus by the Attic poet is unique. It is clear that we have to do here with the distinctively Attic belief of the fifth century touching Prometheus, and this fact has a direct bearing on the date of the play. The poet, who here insists with such vehemence on the benefits wrought by Prometheus to man, must have derived his inspiration from the notions which attached peculiarly to the Attic cult of the Titan, — notions which, as usual in the Greek religion, were found later to conflict with the claims of other heroes, like Cecrops or Palamedes. If, therefore, allusions of this sort are worth anything in dating a dramatic composition, they point here to a period of revival and reconstruction, to a time when those beliefs were most strong and distinct. In its original, unaltered form, the play cannot be later than the third decade of the fifth century,³ and I am inclined, even against von Christ,⁴ to place it early in that decade, at the time when, after the expulsion of the Medes, the Athenians were engaged in restoring their altars and temples and reorganizing the ancient cults. This was a suitable time for effecting that final union of the combined worship of Athena, Hephaistos, and Prometheus, which apparently had not been consummated in the sixth century,⁵ and this view would add force to Westphal's theory that the *Προμηθεὺς πυρφόρος* celebrates the apotheosis of the Attic Prometheus. The theory

¹ Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 210, Hygin. *Fab.* 14, Palaiph. *Incred.* 10, Tzetz. *Lyc.* 553.

² I have not had access to Kremmer, *De catalogis heurematum*, 1890.

³ Cf. Weil, *Journal des Savants*, 1890, p. 53, Bethe, *Prolegg. zu einer Gesch. des Theaters*, p. 182, n.

⁴ *Sitzungsber. der Münch. Akad.*, 1888, 1, p. 375.

⁵ See p. 105.

here offered goes further, and makes the apotheosis and the celebration of it almost contemporary.

A like consideration may suggest the date of the play in the form in which it now stands; for that our play is the result of serious changes and interpolations can hardly be longer denied, after the forcible summary of the evidence given by Professor Bethe.¹ These alterations belong to a period not earlier than the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. Oberdick² suggested 425 B.C., but this hypothesis, which is based on the date of the eruption of Aetna mentioned by Thucydides, iii. 116, is obliged to assume that the description of the volcanic outburst in our play (367 ff.) is not from the hand of Aeschylus. Most readers of that passage will have difficulty in accepting this. We must, therefore, find some other starting point.

A short time after the Peace of Nicias was concluded Euripides brought out his *Supplikes*. In that play (vv. 201 ff.) Theseus says :

αἰνῶ δ' ὅς ἡμῖν βίωτον ἐκ πεφυρμένον
καὶ θηριώδους θεῶν διεσταθμίσατο,
πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθεῖς σύνεσιν, εἶτα δ' ἄγγελον
γλῶσσαν λόγων δούς, ὡς γεγωνίσκειν ὅπα,
205 τροφήν τε καρποῦ τῇ τροφῇ τ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ
σταγόνας ὑδρηλάς, ὡς τὰ γ' ἐκ γαίας τρέφη
ἄρρη τε νηδύν· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι χείματος
προβλήματ' αἶθρον ἐξαμύνασθαι θεοῦ,
πόντου τε ναυστολήμαθ', ὡς διαλλαγὰς
210 ἔχοιμεν ἀλλήλοισιν ὧν πένοιτο γῆ.
ἂ δ' ἔστ' ἄσημα κοῦ σαφῇ, γιγνώσκομεν
εἰς πῦρ βλέποντες, καὶ κατὰ σπλάγχχνων πτυχὰς
μάντις προσημαίνουσιν οἰωνῶν τ' ἄπο.
ἄρ' οὐ τρυφῶμεν, θεοῦ κατασκευὴν βίῳ
215 δόντος τοιαύτην, οἷσιν οὐκ ἄρκεί τάδε;

¹ *Prolegg. zu einer Gesch. d. Theaters*, pp. 159 ff. Some of his views may be corrected by a comparison with Robert's, *Hermes* XXXI, pp. 561 ff. Cf. Wecklein in his third edition, p. 26, and (against Robert's conclusions) in Bursian's *Jahresber.* XXVI, 1898, p. 119 f.

² *Woch. f. kl. Phil.*, 1888, 1311.

These lines are generally understood to refer to Prometheus, but there is nothing whatever to support this reference to him; v. 204 might more properly be taken as an allusion to Hephaistos, who gave αὐδὴν to Pandora;¹ τροφή belongs rather to Triptolemus, and the benefits here enumerated cannot all be ascribed to any one divine agent known in Greek mythology. This is shown by θεοῦ in 214, which, like δὲ . . . θεῶν in the opening lines, is too vague to admit of a reference to Prometheus.² On the contrary, it is more probable that the rationalistic Euripides intended to designate no particular divinity by the phrase δὲ θεῶν, but uses it simply of divine providence in the abstract. Further, vv. 201-202 closely resemble the fragment quoted on p. 107, which belongs to a Παλαμήδης (perhaps of Aeschylus), and some years after the *Supplices* was produced, in 415, we find Euripides ascribing letters, at least, to Palamedes (*Frag.* 578).

By 420 B.C., then, some of those teachings about Prometheus which Aeschylus promulgated had been partially forgotten or had become less distinct by reason of the claims of heroes in other cycles. But there soon came a time after that year when they might be fittingly revived. In 415, just after the mutilation of the Hermae and the departure of the fleet to Sicily, the city was rent with internal faction, and filled with dread and recrimination over troubles at home and abroad. Weighed down by private and political anxieties, the superstitious had recourse to soothsayers and oracle-mongers, while the conservative believer in the state religion turned back to the older forms of faith. Rationalism might do for the time when the *Supplices* was brought out; it would not satisfy all the people a few years later. This, then, was the time when a revival of the Aeschylean *Prometheus*, containing, as it does, its sharp insistence on the might and power of the Titan who was associated with the Athenian Pallas, would have met with especial success.

More positive evidence, too, is not wanting, and may be sought in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, which was produced ἐν ἄρρεσι in March,

¹ Hes. *Op.* 61, cf. Proculus on *Op.* 79.

² I lay no stress on the fact that the gift of fire is not mentioned, for that, as was seen on p. 104, is true also of the catalogue of benefits in Aeschylus.

414 B.C. When the two plays are placed side by side, there is a parallelism of idea and treatment that cannot but have been intentional. There are actual reminiscences, as e.g. *Av.* 1547, *μισῶ δ' ἅπαντας τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς οἶσθα σύ*, echoing *Prom.* 975, *ἀπλῶ λόγῳ τοὺς πάντας ἐχθαίρω θεοὺς*; slight peculiarities in vocabulary, as *δλιγοδρανίαν* (*Prom.* 548) and *δλιγοδρανέες* (*Av.* 686); and when we turn to the parabasis, the connection becomes even clearer. The blessings promised by the birds there are knowledge of the seasons (709) and of omens (719 ff.). So in 593 ff., the birds will disclose mines of precious metals, they will give health and wealth, 604, 605; cf. 733-736. Finally, the scene of burlesque between *Γέρων* B and Prometheus (1494 ff.) gives accurately the Aeschylean and Attic notions respecting Prometheus. The pun on his name (1511) is Aeschylean,¹ while vv. 1545 and 1548 are derived from the story as told in the play. All this scene is given in a spirit of good-humored burlesque, but a burlesque has no force unless that which is travestied is fresh in the minds of the audience, and we cannot suppose all the audience to have read and re-read the *Prometheus* to such a degree that they could appreciate the points made in the *Birds* from reading alone.

This view may furnish an explanation of the tradition² that Mynniscus of Chalcis was an actor of Aeschylus's plays. But he is ridiculed by the comic poet Plato,³ that is, many years after the death of Aeschylus, and a Mynniscus is mentioned as an actor in a didascalia of 421 B.C.⁴ Meineke,⁵ therefore, supposed that the Mynniscus of Plato was a grandson of the Mynniscus of the *Vita*, but this is a doubtful recourse, and it is rendered unnecessary if we understand the statement in the *Vita* as referring to a reproduction of Aeschylus's dramas, and suppose that Mynniscus frequently appeared in revivals of the older plays.

A date not long before 414, then, probably the year and the festival just preceding the production of the *Birds*, or March,

¹ *Prom.* 86, and Wecklein's note.

² *Vita Aesch.* p. 469 (Wecklein).

³ ἐν Σύμφακι, *Frag.* 160 K.

⁴ *C.I.A.* II, 971 b.

⁵ *Frag. Com.* II, 668.

415 B.C., seems to me to fall exactly in the time when the revival of the Aeschylean doctrine was most likely to rouse the sympathies and enthusiasm of the audience, by recalling to their minds the exploits of the god whose deeds were celebrated by the poet shortly after the great victories of their ancestors over the Persians. At the same time it was remodelled to suit the advance made in the mechanical arrangements of the theatre, taking on a more spectacular character, and became, in that period of political storm and stress, a veritable *δρᾶμα τερατώδες* in a new sense, peculiarly in harmony with the temper of the times.

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TWO NOTES ON THE 'BIRDS' OF ARISTOPHANES.

BY C. B. GULICK.

IN *Av.* 14 ff. we read:

ὁ πινακοπώλης Φιλοκράτης μελαγχολῶν,
ὅς τῳδ' ἔφασκε νῶν φράσειν τὸν Τηρέα,
τὸν ἔποφ', ὅς ὄρνις ἐγένετ' ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων,
καπέδοτο τὸν μὲν Θαρρελείδου τουτονί, κτλ.

The well-known difficulty in v. 16 was felt by the scholiasts; one says: *τινὲς δὲ στιλβουσιν εἰς τὸ ἐγένετο, εἶτα, ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων ἀπέδοτο τὸν κολουὸν καὶ τὴν κορώνην*, 'out of his stock of birds he sold us the daw and the crow.' The position of *καί*, however, makes this shift impossible. Some editors, acting on this hint, also place a comma after *ἐγένετ'*, but construe *ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων* with *τῳδ'* in v. 15, as if we had *τῳδε ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων νῶν φράσειν τὸν Τηρέα, i.e.* (he pretended) 'that of all birds these alone would tell us of Tereus.' Against this may be urged a doubt whether *τῳδε ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων* can be regarded as the equivalent of *τῳδε μόνω τῶν ὀρνέων*. Equally impossible, grammatically, is Bothe's interpretation, 'who became a bird without the aid of other birds,' *i.e.* not descended from bird ancestors, but metamorphosed into a bird. This would at least require *ἄνευ* instead of *ἐκ*. Others, again, believing (as in fact I do) that a joke lurks in *ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων*, explain it as referring to *homines superbos, aut leves et inconstantes*. For this last, they compare *τοὺς πετομένους* in v. 167, and *Nub.* 800, *κάστ' ἐκ γυναικῶν εὐπτέρων*. So Bergler, followed by D. W. Turner: 'who was turned into a bird, having been one before.' But in 167 *τοὺς πετομένους* refers to the fickle Athenians, whereas Tereus, though he married an Athenian wife, was himself a Thracian, and the joke is decidedly weak. Insipid, too, is the change to *ἐκ τῶν Ὀρνέων*, and no other emendation, e.g. Köchly's *ἐξ ἀνδρός ποτε*, or *ἀνθρωπός ποτ' ὦν* (adopted by Blaydes), has any probability, for none can account for the present state of the text.

Dr. Kennedy, in his translation, gives an explanation which is at least ingenious: 'who became a real bird from the bird-folk,' i.e. the Thracians, who were likened to birds because of their language, which seemed to the Athenians most like the inarticulate twittering of swallows. Cf. *Ran.* 680 ff., and 'Ιλλυριοὶ κεκριγότες in v. 1521. Against this, however, Mr. Merry objects that we should expect ἐξ ὀρνέου rather than ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων.

The failure to reach an explanation which meets with general acceptance has led most modern scholars, beginning with Cobet, to reject the line altogether. Meineke drops it to the bottom of the page, and Mr. Rutherford (*Scholia Aristoph.* I, 428), following Cobet's favorite "adscript" hypothesis, declares with some positiveness that it is made up of two adscripts and the lemma of a third, viz.: τὸν ἔποπα was originally a note on Τηρέα (15), on which is still found in the scholia another note, ὃς ὄρνις ἐγένετο; while on οὐκ τῶν ὀρνέων (13) he assumes that there was a note something like ὃς ὄρνεα πωλεῖ. It is a curious chance, to say the least, that would bring about such a combination of gloss and lemma as to make a perfectly good verse. The difficulty of getting such a verse into the text is felt by Kock, although he, too, would like to omit it.

I cannot help thinking that the scholiast in Venetus starts with a right apprehension of the meaning as it stands, though his explanation does not go far enough to make his own mind clear to us. He says: παρ' ὑπόνοιαν δὲ εἶρηκε τὸ ὃς ὄρνις ἐγένετ' ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων· ἔδει γὰρ (εἰπεῖν) ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Brunck's criticism of this is no answer: "schema παρ' ὑπόνοιαν, quod alii comminiscuntur, ineptum et nive frigidius."¹ Before rejecting the verse finally I venture to offer a suggestion that may perhaps indicate in what way this line contains a jest παρ' ὑπόνοιαν.

First, against Mr. Rutherford's theory, the verse is not otiose. Tereus is here mentioned for the first time, and the circumstances of this play are so peculiar, in contrast with the essentially Athenian setting of all the other extant plays, that a word of explanation to the audience about Tereus, who is to play an important part later, is altogether appropriate. This explanation recurs in verse 47, in

¹ Brunck himself, among suggested readings, preferred ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων!

another and longer speech of Γέρων A, with something like positive insistence.

Secondly, we must take into account the character and purpose of the speaker, Γέρων A, whom we know by tradition as Euelpides. He soon discloses a strong desire to throw away utterly his former connection with men and his own identity as a human being. Without having a well-defined plan, such as that first proposed by Γέρων B in 162 ff., he is yet eager to join himself to the community of birds, and purposely affects bird ways and bird language. Cf. 27 f. *ἡμᾶς δεομένους ἐς κόρακας ἐλθεῖν*, and 34 f. :

*ἄστοι μετ' ἄστῶν, οὐ σοβοῦντος οὐδενός,
ἀνεπτόμεθ' ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ποδοῖν.*

The idea of becoming a bird, or, at any rate, like a bird in ways and thinking, had possessed both old men before they started on their journey. So Athenaeus ix. 386 f : *Ἀττικοὶ δ' εἰσὶ δύο πρεσβῦται ὑπὸ ἀπραγμοσύνης πόλιν ζητοῦντες ἐν ᾗ κατοικήσουσιν ἀπράγμονα· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀρέσκει ὁ βίος ὁ μετ' ὀρνίθων. ἔρχονται οὖν ὡς τοὺς ὀρνίθους, κτλ.*

Thirdly, Γέρων A distinguishes himself in the first scene of the play as the character who utters all the dry, whimsical sayings. His puns are the readiest and best (79) ; he makes the comments and asides not appropriate to his graver companion (95 ff.) ; he gives the parody in 94, and he it is who asks the memorable question¹ (102), *πότερον ὄρνις ἢ ταῦς* ;

So, in his eagerness to identify himself with the birds, he is staunch in maintaining the bird-character of Tereus. The myth had told how Tereus was once a man. Not so, says our speaker. In place of the sober, uninteresting statement that he became a bird though once a man (Köchly), a statement which his audience expects from the beginning of the sentence, he suddenly shifts to another meaning of *ἐγένετο*, 'he proved himself a bird — of birds,' a genuine bird, untainted by human blood, in spite of the myth.

The expression *ὄρνις ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων*, therefore, may be taken as a comic superlative, formed on the analogy of *ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν* Plat. *Phaedr.* 274 A, used of persons of good birth and breeding,

¹ Not yet answered by some scholars.

the opposite being *κακὸς καὶ κακῶν*, Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1397. The conjunction is usual,¹ but not necessary. Hence we find *ἀγαθοὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν* Andoc. *de Myst.* 109, *εὐγενὴς ἀπ' εὐγενοῦς* Eur. *Orest.* 1676, as against *εὐγενὴς καὶ εὐγενῶν* Soph. *Phil.* 874. Most like our passage is Plato, *Alcib.* I 121 A *βασιλεῖς εἰσὶν ἐκ βασιλέων*, where both *βασιλεῖς* and *ἐκ βασιλέων* are predicates. The only difference is the use of the article required by the double meaning.

In this verse, then, I conceive that two ideas are fantastically combined: (1) he was born a bird from — the birds (*παρ' ὑπόνοιαν*); and (2) he proved himself a bird — of the birds. According to the first, the speaker begins as if he intended to remind his audience of the fact known to them from the myth. His aversion to mankind, however, and insistence on the bird-character of Tereus, suggest to him a surprise, which would require his hearers to understand the line according to the second meaning.

Verses 167–170:

ἐκεῖ παρ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πετομένους ἦν ἔρῃ,
 τίς ὄρνις οὗτος; ὁ Τελέας ἐρεῖ ταδί·
 ἀνθρῶπος ὄρνις, ἀσπάθμητος, πετόμενος,
 ἀτέκμαρτος, οὐδὲν οὐδέποτ' ἐν ταύτῳ μένων.

Here, again, is a passage where emendation has proved futile. Kock, thinking that *τοὺς πετομένους* is corrupt, conjectures that the name of the father of Teleas stood in its place, e.g. *τὸν [Κλε]ομένους*, *τὸν [Δι]ομένους*, or *τὸν [Θεογ]ένους*. He proposes to read:

ἐκεῖ παρ' ἡμῖν τὸν [. .]ένους ἦν ἔρῃ
 τίς ὁ νέος οὗτος; ὁ Τελέας, ἐροῦσ', ὅδε (οἱ ἐροῦσί σοι).

This involves, in the short space of two lines, a change in five places, and certainly does not make vv. 169–170 any clearer. It leaves *πετόμενος* to be explained in 169, whereas Kock apparently sees no meaning in *τοὺς πετομένους*, since he wishes to get rid of it. The scholiasts give three inconsistent interpretations, all of which, it is

¹ Cf. "Thou art a gentleman and well deriv'd," *Two Gentlemen of Verona* v. 4.

clear, they derived with more or less acuteness from the text of the comedy itself, without having any real knowledge about Teleas. One says, ὁ Τελέας σκωπτικός ἄνθρωπος, which is certainly wrong. As Kock points out, Teleas on this occasion was not the mocker, but the mocked. Symmachus (about the year 100 A.D.), to whose redaction of the Alexandrian commentaries we owe our present scholia, had the absurd notion that Τελέας (or Τελεᾶς?) was the name of some bird, and he apparently read τελεᾶ for ἐλεᾶ in 885.¹

The third explanation referred to is that which probably contains the truth, although it rests merely on inference from the text: οὗτος διεβάλλετο ὡς εὐμετάβλητος τοὺς τρόπους. πρὸς γὰρ τῇ κιναιδίᾳ καὶ δειλίᾳ καὶ ὀσοφαγίᾳ [καὶ νοσφισμῷ Ven.] καὶ πονηρίᾳ ὀνειδίζουσι τὸν Τελέαν. In illustration, another note, doubtless from the same good source, quotes ἐπὶ τοῦ Τελέου Plato's Σύρφαξ (161 K.), νοεῖ μὲν ἕτερόν, ἕτερον δὲ τῇ γλώττῃ λέγει.

It appears, then, that Teleas was noted for a certain versatility in crime, and was a person whose words could not be trusted. The fragment from Plato corroborates the epithets ἀστάθμητος and ἀτέκμαρτος, the latter being explained by the scholiast as δόλιος. He belonged to a shifty, tricky class designated by τοὺς πετομένους, "the flighty," — flighty not merely in fickleness of purpose, as we use the term,² but in the sense of evading, dodging justice.³ The meaning of the passage may then be given thus: "If you ask about⁴ these flighty persons and say, 'What bird is that?' Teleas, an authority on the subject, for he is flighty himself, will speak up and tell you."

Who was this Teleas? Beyond question he is to be identified with the γραμματεὺς ταμιῶν of Athena (C.I.A. I, p. 226), who had been serving as clerk in the archonship of Chabrias, Ol. 91, 2, at the very

¹ Conversely, out of νητάριον and φάττιον, Symmachus (ad Plut. 1012) manufactures two rogues, Nitarios and Batos.

² The transition to this sense is seen in Eccles. 899 (of a fickle lover), ἐφ' ἑτερον ἂν πέτοιτο.

³ Cf. Socrates's joke in the Euthyphro, 3 E: EUTH. Διώκω. SOC. Τίνα; EUTH. "Ὁν διώκων αὐτὸν δοκῶ μαίνεσθαι. SOC. Τί δέ; πετομένον τίνα διώκεις; Here the legal application of διώκω is prominent throughout.

⁴ This construction, called Homeric by the scholiast (Z 239, K 416, Ω 390), is familiar enough.

time when the *Birds* was produced. That he was a clerk is hinted in v. 1024, where the Episkopos, asked by Γέρων B who had sent him on his mission, replies φαῦλον βιβλίον Τελέου τι. The γραμματεῖς were often low persons, morally depraved and socially insignificant,¹ hence all recollection of his office was lost later. The scholiast at 1024 makes no mention of it. By flattery and servility Teleas had worked himself into favor with the authorities. At the same festival (ἐν ᾧσται, March, 414 B.C.) at which Aristophanes brought out the *Birds*, we find Phrynichus in the Μονότροπος classing Teleas with the obtrusive foreigner Execestides² in the following manner (*Frag.* 20 K.):

- A. μεγάλους πιθήκους οἷδ' ἑτέρους τινὰς λέγειν,
Λυκέαν, Τελέαν, Πείσανδρον, Ἐξηκεστιῖδην.
B. ἀνωμάλους εἶπας πιθήκους . . .
ὁ μὲν γε δειλός, ὁ δὲ κόλαξ, ὁ δὲ νόθος.

Here ἀνωμάλους, 'capricious,' well characterizes τοὺς πετομένους, and if ὁ μὲν γε δειλός may refer to Lyceas (not otherwise known), ὁ δὲ κόλαξ proclaims Teleas as a time-server and trimmer, in accordance with ἀτέκμαρτος and ἀστάθμητος.

Teleas, however, was not a foreigner, any more than Pisander was, although his family may have been obscure. His full name was Τελέας Τελενίκου Περγασῆθεν.³ This makes Kock's proposed change impossible, for the father's name was Τελένικος,⁴ and not a name ending in -ένης or -μένης.

Further, it would appear that he had been concerned in some embezzlement of the funds of Athena, if we may trust the phrase καὶ νοσφισμῷ, which, however, is omitted in Ravennas. At any rate, he was greedy and forward (*Pac.* 1003 ff.), a hungry glutton, like most rhetors in Aristophanes (cf. *Av.* 1694 ff.), and a heeler of the most despicable type.

¹ Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung*³ I, 227.

² Also held up to ridicule *Av.* 11, 764, 1527. This throws a curious light on the way in which the same obnoxious characters are attacked at the same time by different comic poets.

³ *C.I.A.* I, 127, 128, 159, 183.

⁴ A Τελένικος is mentioned in the list of persons implicated in the mutilation of the Hermae, Andoc. *de Myst.* 35.

A STUDY OF THE DAPHNIS-MYTH.

BY H. W. PRESCOTT.

IN this paper an attempt is made to trace the development of the Daphnis-myth in Greek literature down to the time of Longus.¹ It is not my purpose to offer any theories about the mythological significance of the whole or of any part of the myth.

At the close of a comparatively full account of the Daphnis-myth, Aelian says²: Stesichorus of Himera was the first to introduce this sort of lyrical composition: *καὶ Στησίχορον γε τὸν Ἱμεραίων τῆς τοιαύτης μελοποιίας ὑπάρξασθαι*. Before attempting to interpret these words, let us see what Aelian says before them. Concisely, his statements are these: Daphnis was a neatherd; some say a favorite of Hermes, others, a son; he was born of a nymph; exposed in a laurel tree, whence his name; the cattle he tended were sisters of the cattle of Helios; a nymph fell in love with him while he was tending his herd in Sicily, and associated with him; for he was handsome, young, with youthful down on his cheeks; he made a compact with her not to have intercourse with any other woman; and she threatened him, saying that he should be blinded if he broke his promise; soon afterwards a king's daughter fell in love with him, and under the influence of wine he broke his compact. Aelian then says: *ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ βουκολικὰ μέλη πρῶτον ᾤσθη, καὶ εἶχεν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ πάθος τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ*. These words must mean: "From this circumstance pastoral songs came to be sung, and they had as their subject the affliction to his eyes." Then follow the words in question: *καὶ Στησίχορον γε τὸν Ἱμεραίων τῆς τοιαύτης μελοποιίας ὑπάρξασθαι*. There can be no question, I think, that these words do not immediately mean that Stesichorus ever wrote a poem about Daphnis.

¹ The article by Stoll in Roscher's *Lexikon* leaves much to be desired.

² Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18.

The words simply say: "Lyric poetry of this sort." Of what sort? Bucolic poetry in general? Poetry in which faithless lovers are blinded? Or poetry in which the romantic element predominates?

The possibility that *ροιαύτη* refers to bucolic poetry may be dismissed; we have no evidence elsewhere, so far as I know, that Stesichorus originated bucolic poetry as a form of literature.

Did Stesichorus treat especially of blinded lovers? It will be remembered that Stesichorus, according to one tradition, was himself blinded because of some rather ungracious references to Helen, and that he then wrote a palinode¹ recanting what he had said, and was relieved of his blindness. Those who maintain that Stesichorus wrote about Daphnis suggest that in his palinode, the poet, describing his own plight, inserted the story of Daphnis.² Though this were true, it would hardly be sufficient warrant for Aelian's statement that Stesichorus introduced the blinding of faithless lovers, or of any other sort of people, into the subject-matter of melic poetry.

Does Aelian mean that Stesichorus introduced the romantic element into melic poetry? That is, does the Daphnis-story, in Aelian's mind, serve as a type, and does he mean to say that Stesichorus is responsible for that typical form of lyric poetry? Athenaeus,³ in speaking of *μέλη ἐρωτικά*, says that Stesichorus also, being somewhat given to love, composed this sort of song. The statement of Athenaeus is sufficiently confirmed by other testimony. Aristoxenus, according to Athenaeus,⁴ stated that the heroine of one of Stesichorus's poems was Calyce; that, according to the poem, she fell in love with one Euathlus, prayed Aphrodite that she might marry him, and, on the young man's scorning her suit, threw herself down a precipice. The poet, if we are to believe Aristoxenus, made the girl's character very modest; she was not unduly anxious to associate with the young man, but prayed simply that she might be his wedded wife or die. Strabo⁵ tells of Rhadine, the heroine of Stesi-

¹ Bergk, *P. L. G.*⁴ III. pp. 214-215, n.

² Stoll in Roscher, *s.v.* *Daphnis*.

³ Athenaeus, 601 A.

⁴ *Ibid.* 619 D; cf. Eustathius, *Iliad*, 1236. 62.

⁵ Strabo, 8. 347 = Bergk, *P. L. G.*⁴ III. p. 222 (*Frag.* 44 and note). Samos in
• Elis is the home of the heroine.

chorus's poem that began: "Come, clear-voiced Muse, begin the fair-named song, hymning the Samian young folk on thy lovely lyre." Rhadine had been promised in marriage to a tyrant of Corinth, and sailed thither to marry him; her cousin, who was in love with her, started off in a chariot to Corinth after her; the tyrant slew them both, and sent off their bodies in the chariot, but afterwards repented of his deed and buried them.¹ From these passages it is evident that Stesichorus was properly regarded as especially interested in the romantic element in melic poetry, and the two plots preserved to us show that he chose stories with gresome endings not unlike the sad conclusion of the Daphnis-myth. It is possible that we have in this circumstance sufficient explanation of Aelian's words: "Stesichorus introduced into literature romantic stories, of which the Daphnis-myth is a good type."²

But it may be said with considerable pertinence: if Stesichorus was interested in such plots, and if in the Calyce-story he used an argument obviously taken from folklore,³ what can be more likely than that, a Sicilian by residence,⁴ he should have introduced into literature the Daphnis-myth, a bit of folklore that is peculiarly Sicilian to begin with. Certainly the probability of such a thing cannot be denied. The fact remains, however, that Aelian chose to say *τοιαύτης τῆς μελοποιίας* when he might as easily, had he meant it, have said *τούτου τοῦ μέλους*. The fact also remains that, though we have the Daphnis-legend described in various sources from the fourth century B.C. down to a late period, two of these sources being Timaeus and Diodorus, historians of Sicily, and themselves Sicilian-born, yet the only mention, if we grant that it is a mention, of Stesichorus's part in the story, occurs in this one place in Aelian.⁵

¹ Cf. Pausanias, 7. 5. 13.

² But Archytas, the writer on music (Athenaeus, 600 F), said that Alcman introduced *μέλη ἐρωτικά*.

³ Cf. Aristoxenus in Athenaeus, 619 D.

⁴ Stesichorus is called *Ἱμεραίος*, and the trees that mourn Daphnis's death in Theocritus (7. 75) are those that grow by the river Himéras.

⁵ A study of the credibility of Aelian, and of his accuracy in referring stories to definite authors, would help in settling the question. I simply wish to protest against the over-confidence of those who, merely on the basis of Aelian's state-

Another fact, of equal importance, must be granted: that, even if Aelian does suggest Stesichorus as the author of the story in literature, there is no reason for supposing that the story, as told in Aelian, is the argument used by the poet.¹

If we eliminate Stesichorus from the Daphnis-tradition, almost all our earliest authorities for the legend belong in the Alexandrine period. But the myth is already in such a highly developed form, and exhibits so many variations of details, so many folklore elements, that we cannot suppose that the legend is new, either in oral tradition or in literature. Our sources are of three sorts: historians, who probably preserve for us the older form of the myth; poets, who do not hesitate to give free play to their fancy; and scholiasts, who show faithful grubbing in a mythological handbook.

It is difficult to assign priority of date to any of the writers of the Alexandrine period with whom we have to deal. But the Sicilian historian Timaeus (B. C. 352-256) was likely to preserve an old form of the myth, inasmuch as he had at his command the material of earlier historians, like Philistus. The story, as Timaeus reported it, is preserved by Parthenius in his record of the experiences of lovers;² briefly, as follows: Daphnis was born in Sicily, a son of Hermes, a clever player on the pipe, and handsome; he did not associate with the great mass of men, but lived as a neatherd on Aetna, winter and summer, in the open air; the nymph Echenais³ loved him and forbade him to approach any other woman, on penalty of losing his sight; he held out for a while, though many loved him madly; at last a Sicilian princess befooled him with wine and enticed him to intercourse; so he suffered the same fate as Thamyras, the Thracian.

If we omit for the moment the other Alexandrine sources of the

ment, make Stesichorus the father of the myth in literature. The interpretation of Aelian's words presented above is simply the result of an independent study of the passage, and is offered tentatively, until further study of Aelian's peculiarities is possible.

¹ Cf. Hiller, n. on Theocritus, I. 19.

² Parthenius, *περί ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων*, 29.

³ Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion*, p. 199, n. 2, thinks that the name is possibly not from Timaeus, but invented by Parthenius for Gallus's use.

myth and pass to the later chronicles of Diodorus,¹ who wrote under Augustus, and Aelian,² who lived some two hundred years after Christ, we find the essential features of the Timaeus-version still preserved; Diodorus is more florid in his account and adds a few details; Aelian is almost as concise as Timaeus. The points on which all three agree are, that Daphnis was a Sicilian neatherd, the son of Hermes, who, loved by a nymph, promised not to associate with any other woman,³ but who, under the influence of wine, yielded to a Sicilian princess and lost his sight in consequence. Or, reduced to its lowest terms, a mortal man, loved by an immortal, and forbidden intercourse with his kind, sins and suffers a severe penalty.

With these few facts in our minds⁴ as the simplest and oldest form of the myth, so far as our authorities allow us to judge, we can more readily understand the divergences which appear in other writers.

There is one form of the Daphnis-myth that seems to be unique. It appears in a tragedian, Sositheus, who lived about 284 B.C.; his birthplace is variously reported, but Suidas⁵ seems to prefer the tradition that made him a native of Alexandria in the Troad.⁶ The title of one of his dramas⁷ is preserved⁸ to us as *Δάφνις ἡ Λιτυέρσας*: others⁹ give the name simply as *Δάφνις*. In this play, we are told, Lityerses's harsh treatment of strangers was punished by Heracles. In this play, too, according to our scholia¹⁰ on Theocritus, Daphnis married the nymph Thalia. A fuller account of the story is given in Ps.-Servius¹¹: Daphnis loved Pimplea, and when she was torn from

¹ Diodorus, 4. 84.

² Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18.

³ Cf. schol. Apollonius Rhodius, 2. 477.

⁴ That Timaeus is the ultimate authority has been partially proved by a comparison of the phraseology of the three versions. Cf. Clasen, *Untersuchungen über Timaios*, p. 42, and Reitzenstein, *Ep. und Skol.* p. 199.

⁵ Suidas s.v. *Σωσίθεος*.

⁶ Another tradition makes him a Syracusan.

⁷ Welcker, *Gr. Trag.* pp. 1252-6; Nauck, *Trag. Frag.*² pp. 821-3. See also Jahn in *Hermes*, III. p. 181, who thinks the play resembled the *Alkestis*.

⁸ Athenaeus, 415 B.

⁹ Anonymus in Westermann's *Mythog. Gr.* p. 346. 15. Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2. 596.

¹⁰ Argument of idyll 8, and schol. vs. 93 (both in k).

¹¹ On Vergil, *Ecl.* 8. 68; the name of Sositheus is not given here, but the plot corresponds to that ascribed to Sositheus's drama.

him by robbers¹ he sought her over the whole earth and found her finally in Phrygia, a slave at the court of Lityrses; Lityrses vented his wrath at strangers by forcing them to mow the crops in a match with him; if he vanquished them, they were killed; now Heracles, out of pity for Daphnis, came to the palace, and, hearing the terms of the contest, took the scythe and with it cut off the head of the cruel monarch when the latter had been lulled to sleep² by the reaping song; thus he freed Daphnis from danger, and restored to him Pimplea, whom others call Thalia;³ and to them Heracles gave the king's palace as a wedding gift. This unique version of the myth, which we cannot trace back of Sositheus, is one of several indications which we shall study later of the transference of the Daphnis-myth into other countries than Sicily; it is also interesting as combining two heroes prominent in folklore. To this same tendency we may, possibly, refer the statement of a scholiast on Theocritus⁴ that Alexander Aetolus, a contemporary of Theocritus, represented Marsyas as learning to play the flute⁵ from Daphnis.

The other additions to, and divergences from, the essential form of the myth can be treated in some sort of natural sequence. And first, as to the birth and parentage of Daphnis. Timaeus tells us that Daphnis was born in Sicily, the son of Hermes, and this seems to be the original account. Theocritus does not mention the parentage of the genuine Daphnis,⁶ but Hermes is the first of the gods to console the neatherd in his misery;⁷ the scholia on the verse state that Hermes comes as friend or lover of Daphnis, and there is nothing in the context to show that Theocritus thought of Hermes as a

¹ Cf. Longus, *Pastoralia*, 2. 20, where freebooters carry off Chloe.

² These words, misplaced in the MSS. and corrupt, seem to be properly adjusted and changed by Jahn, *Hermes*, III. p. 180. Interesting to note in connection with them is Reitzenstein's conjecture that Daphnis sang the magic song referred to (*Ep. und Skol.* p. 259). Cf. also Crusius in Roscher, *s.v.* *Lityrses*.

³ The MSS. read *Italiam*, corrected by Jahn to agree with the scholia on Theocritus.

⁴ Argument of idyll 8 (k).

⁵ ἀὐλητικὴν, Meineke's emendation (*Analecta Alexandrina*, p. 250).

⁶ The genealogy in Theocritus 27. 41 is hardly that of the real Daphnis.

⁷ Theocritus 1. 77.

nearer kinsman. The scholium on 7. 78 (k), however, does make him a son of Hermes,¹ and Philargyrius and Ps.-Servius,² the commentators on Vergil, make him a son of Mercury. Diodorus³ reported that Daphnis was the son of Hermes and a nymph. Aelian⁴ is less dogmatic, and gives two traditions, one that he was the son of Hermes, another that Hermes was his lover.

The place of his birth and his residence are pretty generally Sicily. Timaeus⁵ mentions Aetna as his haunt. Aelian⁶ calls him a Syracusan. Diodorus⁷ ventures upon a poetical description of Daphnis's birthplace: he tells of the Heraean mountains, which by their unique natural beauty were well adapted to rest and relaxation in summer; they were filled with springs of sweet water, with trees of every kind, great oaks bearing fruit of unusual size, twice as large as that grown elsewhere; there grew, of their own will, fruits usually cultivated,—the vine, and apples in incredible amounts; here Daphnis was born, in a tree-clad valley in a grove sacred to the nymphs.⁸ The mother of Daphnis, wherever mentioned,⁹ is a nymph; but she is not mentioned in the account of Timaeus. The name Daphnis is explained by Aelian¹⁰ from the fact that the neatherd was born in a laurel tree, by Diodorus more loosely from the fact of the number and thickness of the laurel trees in the immediate vicinity. Of the details of his rearing we learn little; Diodorus¹¹ says he was reared by nymphs. There is a statement in the scholia on Theocritus¹² that seems gratuitous;

¹ The MS. reads χρυσού, properly emended to 'Ερμού.

² On Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 20 and 7. 1.

³ Diodorus, 4. 84.

⁴ Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18.

⁵ Parthenius, *πρὸς ἑρωτ. παθ.* 29.

⁶ Aelian, *Hist. Animal.* 11. 13. Cf. Tzetzes, *Chil.* 4. 261.

⁷ Diodorus, 4. 84.

⁸ Daphnis seems to have no definite home; the places identified with various forms of the myth are remote from one another; so we have Aetna (Timaeus), Syracuse (Aelian and Tzetzes), Heraean mountains (Diodorus), Himaras river (Theocritus and scholia), Cephaloedium (Ps.-Servius).

⁹ Diodorus, 4. 84; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18; schol. Theocritus, 7. 78 (k), by emendation.

¹⁰ Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18; cf. Silius Italicus, 14. 465, — *deductum ab origine nomen*.

¹¹ Diodorus, 4. 84.

¹² Schol. Theocritus, 7. 78 (k).

there is a tradition, says the scholiast, that Theocritus transfers the experiences of Daphnis to Comatas, for Daphnis's mother exposed¹ Daphnis in fear of her lord father's not crediting her when she disclosed the fact of her intercourse with Hermes. The scholiast would have us believe that Daphnis, like Comatas, was fed by bees.² According to Timaeus,³ Daphnis did not associate with the great mass of men. He was a neatherd, and Aelian⁴ has the fanciful detail that the cattle tended by him were the sisters of the cattle of Helios.

The relations of Daphnis to Pan and other rustic deities form an episode of some importance in the Daphnis-legend. In Theocritus,⁵ when Daphnis is visited in his anguish by several divinities, Priapus⁶ is among them and taunts Daphnis with being a laggard in love; the scholiast gives us sufficient explanation of Priapus's presence in the dry statement: *οἰκείως ἄγροικος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Πρίαπος ὡς καὶ ὁ Δάφνις*. And later in the same idyll Daphnis's dying words⁷ are a call to Pan to leave his haunts in Greece and come to receive the neatherd's pipe as a parting gift. Ps.-Servius⁸ makes Pan the teacher of Daphnis in music. The Anthology has eight epigrams, some of which appear in the Theocritus-collection,⁹ illustrating the common interests of Daphnis and Pan. To Pan Daphnis dedicates his reeds, his crook, his spear, his fawn-skin, the scrip in which he carried his apples.¹⁰ In another epigram¹¹ Daphnis is bidden awake, for Pan and Priapus

¹ Ps.-Servius on Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 20, mentions the exposing of Daphnis; cf. Longus, *Pastoralia*, 1. 2.

² Cf. Hiller, *Jahresbericht*, LIV, p. 191. Schol. Theocritus, 7. 83 (k).

³ Parthenius, *περὶ ἐρωτ. παθ.* 29.

⁴ Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18.

⁵ Theocritus, 1. 81.

⁶ Hyginus, *Fab.* 160, makes Priapus a son of Hermes. So Pan is a son of Hermes according to the scholium on Theocritus, 1. 3 (cf. Hiller's note on *Syrinx*, 2).

⁷ Theocritus, 1. 123.

⁸ Ps.-Servius on Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 20. Pan is judge in the contest between Menalcas and Daphnis, according to the argument of Theocritus, 8 (k).

⁹ None of them now, however, generally ascribed to Theocritus.

¹⁰ Theocritus, *Epig.* 2 = *Anth. Pal.* 6. 177.

¹¹ *Ibid. Epig.* 3 = *Anth. Pal.* 9. 338.

are on his track, — both are leaping into his grotto. Some eighty years before Christ, Meleager¹ represents Pan as disgusted with his pastoral life. "No longer will I live with my goats," he says, "what is there to please me on the mountains? Daphnis is dead, — Daphnis, who kindled fire in my heart. I will go and live in yonder town; let some other be sent to hunt the beasts. What Pan loved once is no longer dear to him." Under the name of Glaucus,² we have a conversation between Pan and the nymphs. Pan asks if Daphnis passed that way, and rested his white kids. The nymphs respond: "Yes, Pan, and on yonder poplar he carved a message for thee on the bark, — 'Pan, Pan, come to Malea, to the Psophidian mountain! I will meet thee there.'" The epigram of Eratosthenes,³ who wrote some five hundred years after Christ, is simply an imitation of Theocritus's second epigram, with a reminiscence of *δυσέρως* in the first idyll. Of these epigrams the two by Meleager and Glaucus are evidently of first importance; the former shows that Pan, like Hermes in one tradition, was a lover of Daphnis; the epigram of Glaucus localizes the love incident in Arcadia, near the town of Psophis.⁴ Some fifteen replicas remain to us of an ancient work of art, now sometimes⁵ recognized as Pan and Daphnis. Pan is teaching the youth to play the pipe, as in the account of Ps.-Servius.⁶

With Artemis, according to Diodorus,⁷ Daphnis hunted, doing the goddess welcome service, and by his pipe and skill in pastoral songs especially delighted her. In Vergil,⁸ too, the two divinities who leave the fields when Daphnis dies are Pales and Apollo.⁹ In Vergil, also, Daphnis seems to be an assistant of Bacchus in the introduction of the god's worship.¹⁰

¹ *Anth. Pal.* 7. 535; cf. 12. 128.

² *Ibid.* 9. 341.

³ *Ibid.* 6. 78.

⁴ Malea, perhaps not in Laconia, but near Psophis; cf. Reitzenstein, *Ep. und Skol.* p. 245.

⁵ Reitzenstein, *Ep. und Skol.* pp. 247-8; for list of replicas, cf. excursus, p. 279.

⁶ Ps.-Servius on Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 20.

⁷ Diodorus, 4. 84.

⁸ Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 35.

⁹ Apollo is doubtless Apollo *πόμος* (cf. Servius on Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 35).

¹⁰ Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 29 ff.

Daphnis is joined with another pastoral hero in Greek myth, Menalcas. Athenaeus¹ tells us of a story found in the *Erotica* of Clearchus, a pupil of Aristotle. In speaking of a bucolic strain named after Eriphanis, Clearchus says: "Eriphanis, the song-writer, fell in love with Menalcas, while he was hunting, and pursued him in her passion; for roaming about and roving through all the mountain thickets she chased him, like Io in her wanderings, so that not only did men who were noted for imperviousness to love weep at her suffering, but even the wildest of beasts, when they saw her misery; she wrote a song and went round in the wilderness, they say, shouting aloud and singing the so-called νόμον, in which are the words μακρὰι δρῦες, ὦ Μενάλκα." If we are to believe the writer of the argument to Theocritus's ninth idyll, Hermesianax, friend of Philetas, — Theocritus's teacher according to one tradition, — wrote about Menalcas, and in his story Menalcas loved Euippe, and when he did not win her love he threw himself down a cliff. But this Menalcas-story had its scene in Chalcis, and the writer of the argument warns us that the Menalcas of the ninth idyll of Theocritus has nothing to do with the Euboean hero; certainly the Hermesianax-version of the love-affair is the exact opposite of the story in Clearchus. The scholiast on Theocritus, 8. 53 (k), however, seems differently minded, for he tells us that Hermesianax represented Daphnis as in love with Menalcas,² but that Hermesianax put the scene in Euboea, Theocritus in Sicily. Theocritus's idyll certainly shows no hints of a love-affair between Daphnis and Menalcas: the two rustics, both of the same age, meet and contend in song; Daphnis wins. In the ninth idyll, again, Daphnis and Menalcas contend with more equable results, each receiving a prize. I share the doubts of the writer of the argument of the ninth idyll, and am inclined to think that the Menalcas of Theocritus, like the Menalcas of Vergil, is not the Menalcas of Clearchus's or Hermesianax's story; but the fact remains, if we are to believe the scholiast, that Hermesianax joined Daphnis and Menalcas in the same story, the scene of

¹ Athenaeus, 619 C.

² Perhaps merely an assumption on the part of the scholiast (Rohde, *Der griech. Roman*, p. 78, n. 1).

which was laid in Euboea. And if Clearchus is to be believed, Menalcas was himself a figure of some importance in bucolic legends, so that the union of Daphnis and Menalcas is a phenomenon comparable to the union of Lityerses and Daphnis in the drama of Sositheus.¹

It may be well here to refer to another appearance of the Daphnis-myth outside of Sicily. We have already seen it transferred to Phrygia and possibly to Euboea; there are some slight traces that the legend was known also in Crete. An epigram of Callimachus² first excites our attention; he tells of one Astacides, "the Cretan, the goatherd, whom a nymph stole away from the mountain, and now Astacides is a sacred being. No longer under the oaks of Dicte, shepherds, will we sing of Daphnis, but ever of Astacides." It may be that this epigram will serve to interpret a strange adjective in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; ³ "I leave unmentioned," says the speaker, "the well-known love of *Idaeon* Daphnis, whom a nymph turned to stone in her wrath at his love for another woman." The fate of this *Idaeon* Daphnis—to be turned to stone—recurs in the account of Ps.-Servius: ⁴ he mentions among various legends the story that Daphnis, beloved of Nomia, himself loved Chimaera, whereupon Nomia blinded him and afterwards turned him to stone; and that near the town of Cephaloedium ⁵ was a rock in the shape of a man. Cephaloedium, however, is on the north coast of Sicily, not in Crete, so that we cannot make the transformation to stone peculiarly Cretan.

¹ The argument of idyll 8 (k) informs us that Menalcas figured in Sositheus's drama, being vanquished by Daphnis in a singing contest, over which Pan served as judge. ("Pan and the Nymphs," according to the MS., but see Buecheler, *Rh. Mus.* XXXIX. p. 275.) It is difficult to see how Menalcas could have been forced into the Lityerses-legend, and the manifest lacuna in the argument warrants us in leaving the statement out of consideration. I am at any rate opposed to Reitzenstein's (*Ep. und Skol.* pp. 257-60) fanciful attempts to bring the Menalcas-incident in Sositheus and Hermesianax into line with the form of the Daphnis-myth which is found in Sicily.

² Callimachus, *Epig.* 24 = *Anth. Pal.* 7. 518.

³ Ovid, *Met.* 4. 276.

⁴ On Vergil, *Ecl.* 8. 68.

⁵ The reading in Ps.-Servius is corrupt; the scholiast on Theocritus, 1. 118, seems to be acquainted with the region in connection with the Daphnis-myth.

We have still another slight clue to a Cretan form of the myth in a scholium on the name *Ξενέα* in Theocritus,¹ referring to another, or perhaps the same, mistress of Daphnis. There is some doubt whether *Ξενέα* is a proper name, or an adjective in the sense of stranger; the scholiast on the verse, however, says : ἀπέδοσαν τῆς ἐκ Κρήτης ξένης. On this rather unsubstantial foundation—an epigram of Callimachus, an adjective in Ovid, and a scholium on Theocritus—rests all the proof we have of a Cretan Daphnis: the epigram of Callimachus, taken by itself, proves nothing; the verses of Ovid describe a Sicilian form of the myth, and nothing that can be called peculiarly Cretan; and the scholium on Theocritus rather makes against Daphnis's having been himself at home in Crete.

Daphnis was intimately associated with pastoral poetry; Timaeus² says he was clever on the pipe. Theocritus, in his eighth idyll, makes Daphnis's prominence among herdsmen begin with his victory in song over Menalcas. Diodorus³ states flatly that it was Daphnis who invented bucolic poetry and song. Aelian,⁴ more cautiously, says that bucolic poetry arose from the circumstance of Daphnis's affliction, and that the first pastoral songs were devoted to his blindness. Silius Italicus⁵ ascribes the virtues of an Orpheus to Daphnis. The later systematizers of literary history certainly settled upon him as the father of bucolic poetry, and Diomedes⁶ makes a happy triad of Daphnis, Theocritus, and Vergil. But the recognition of Daphnis as the originator of bucolic song may safely be regarded as a late feature of the myth.⁷

We come at length to the most difficult part of the Daphnis-legend, the extrication of the neatherd from his love-affairs. It will be remembered that, in the simplest form of the story, we found that Daphnis loved a nymph, with whom he made a compact never to associate with any other woman; but that, befooled by wine, he was led to break his promise by a Sicilian princess, and lost his sight in consequence. This form of the myth appears in Timaeus,⁸ in

¹ Schol. Theocritus, 7. 73 (the *schol. vetera* of Ahrens).

² Parthenius, *περὶ ἐρωτ. παθ.* 29.

³ Diodorus, 4. 84.

⁴ Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18.

⁵ Sil. Ital. 14. 465 ff.

⁶ Keil, *Gram. Lat.* I. p. 487.

⁷ Cf. the Linus-myth.

⁸ Parthenius, *περὶ ἐρωτ. παθ.* 29.

Diodorus,¹ in Aelian,² and in Ps.-Servius;³ the scholiast on Theocritus, 1. 85 (k), also knows this version of the legend, but it does not occur in this exact form in any poet, unless by implication in Theocritus.

The later divergences from this form of the myth we shall find it desirable to group about Theocritus's version, or versions, of it. In the first idyll,⁴ Daphnis is pining away; Hermes visits him and inquires for whom he cherishes such passion. Priapus comes and says: "Poor Daphnis, why dost thou pine away? Surely the maiden courses by all the springs, through all the woods, in search of thee. Thou art a sorry lover, slow in devices. Thou used to be called a neatherd, but now art thou like a goatherd. The goatherd, when he sees the she-goats frolic, looks with yearning eyes for that he was not himself born a he-goat. And thou, too, when thou seest the maidens laughing, dost look with yearning eyes, for that thou dost not dance among them." Daphnis took no heed of these words, but carried through to the end his own bitter love, yes, carried it to the end of death. Then, too, came the Cyprian, sweet and smiling; her smiles were hidden, her anger manifest,⁵ and she said: "Didst thou boast, Daphnis, that thou wouldst give Love a fall? Art not thyself thrown in the struggle with remorseless Love?" And to her Daphnis made answer: "Relentless Cyprian, wrathful Cyprian, hated by mortal men, already dost thou declare my last sun has set? Daphnis, even in Hades, shall be a source of pain to Love. Away with thee, Aphrodite! Get thee to Ida, to thy Anchises. Adonis, too, is in the vigor of youth, for he, too, herds sheep. Go straightway, and confront Diomedes, and say to him: 'The neatherd Daphnis have I conquered, now do thou fight with me!'" So much for the first idyll. In the

¹ Diodorus, 4. 84.

² Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18.

³ On Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 20: but Ps.-Servius does not mention the use of wine.

⁴ vv. 66 ff.

⁵ Adopting the reading *λάθρῃα*; for my interpretation of *ἀνέχουσα*, cf. the scholiast on this verse, and also Aristophanes, *Thesmoph.* 948 (*ὄργια ἀνέχωμεν*), Thucydides, 1. 141 (*πολέμους ἀνέχουσι*). I find, however, that Prof. Seymour has already treated this verse similarly in the *Proceedings of the Amer. Phil. Asso.*, July, 1882.

seventh idyll¹ we have the contents of Tityrus's song described; it is to tell how Daphnis the neatherd once loved a strange maiden (or Xenea, if it be a proper name), and the mountain was harassed with grief, the oak trees that grew by the banks of the river Himeras lamented him when, like the snow beneath lofty Haemus or Athos or Rhodope or Caucasus remote, Daphnis melted away. Again, at the end of the eighth idyll, Daphnis is overjoyed at the happy issue of his contest with Menalcas, and from that time, says the poet, Daphnis became the first among the herdsmen, and, while still in the flower of his youth, married the nymph Nais.

We have Daphnis, then, pining away for some one; we have a maiden searching high and low for him; we have him married to a nymph Nais; and we have him in love with a strange maiden, or Xenea.² Shall we attempt to reconcile Theocritus's version with the older form of the myth? And shall we attempt to make one consistent story from the material in Theocritus or shall we admit a combination of two or more distinct legends in the poet? It is evident without further elaboration that the material which we have in Theocritus is not such that we can reconcile it with the older form of the myth; one detail in Theocritus may correspond to another in the Timaeus-version, but it is impossible to make the whole of the one harmonize with the whole of the other. Of a Sicilian princess,³ or of a befuddling of Daphnis with wine, Theocritus says nothing, any more than he does of the blinding of Daphnis, which forms such an important part of the older version. We are concerned primarily, then, simply with straightening out the story in Theocritus. In this attempt it must be borne in mind that no explanation can be right with any degree of certainty; Theocritus wrote for readers who were, doubtless, acquainted with all the variations in the myth, and elucidation can be successful only so far as it accords with the greatest probability; to my mind the greatest probability is obtainable by comparing the statements in Theocritus with the forms of the myth that existed before and after the poet's time.

¹ vv. 72 ff.

² I prefer to treat this as a proper name; cf. Hiller, note on Theocritus, 7. 73.

³ But see the scholiast on Theocritus, 1. 85.

In Timaeus's account,¹ which we have supposed to be the simplest form of the myth, the nymph is named Echenais.² In Sositheus's drama the nymph whom Daphnis married, after vanquishing Menalcas in song, was called Thalia, according to the argument of Theocritus's eighth idyll. Coming down to the Vergilian commentators we get still greater divergency. Ps.-Servius,³ among other stories, repeats the plot of Sositheus's drama, but gives the name of the heroine as Pimplea; according to Ps.-Servius she was stolen by freebooters, and Daphnis sought her out, finding her at last at the court of Lityerses. Ps.-Servius admits that the maiden was called by some Thalia. But on the same verse in Vergil he tells another story, to the effect that Nomia was the name of the nymph who loved Daphnis, but that he spurned her and preferred Chimaera, so that the neglected nymph in anger blinded him and finally turned him to stone. Philargyrius⁴ gives us still another name; he says the nymph to whom Daphnis was unfaithful was called Lyca.

In these accounts we see a reasonable amount of adherence to the essential form of the old myth, though the names and the circumstances of the first love and of the new mistress vary. And so I think if we assume the simple *motif* of the Daphnis-myth in Theocritus to be the rejection by the neatherd of one who loves him in favor of a new mistress, there will be no insurmountable difficulties to overcome; as a Sicilian, the poet would not be likely to depart from the form of the myth peculiar to his native land.⁵ This form

¹ Parthenius, *περὶ ἐρωτ. παθ.* 29.

² The Nais of Theocritus's eighth idyll need not be considered a corruption of this Echenais; cf. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1. 732.

³ On Vergil, *Ecl.* 8. 68.

⁴ On Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 20.

⁵ For comparison I may summarize the views of other writers who have treated the subject.

Welcker (*KL. Schriften*, I. pp. 193 ff.) says that Daphnis was once enthralled by Nais, but left her; that Nais pursued him constantly. Aphrodite used her influence to revive his love for Nais, but Daphnis boasted that he would never yield. In anger Aphrodite kindled love in his breast for Xenea.

Hermann (*Disputatio de Daphnide*, p. 15): Daphnis married first the nymph Nais, and she forbade him to associate with any other woman; consequently he repulsed the advances of the woman whom Theocritus refers to in 1. 82. Aphro-

of the myth is presented most bluntly in the story in Ps.-Servius of Nomia, whom Daphnis rejected, and Chimaera, whom he loved. If we apply this to Theocritus's story, what do we get? In the first idyll Daphnis is pining away with love for his new mistress, who is pursuing him far and wide. But what is the meaning of the remarks of Priapus and Aphrodite? To interpret these I am inclined to bring over from the old form of the myth the story of the compact, and assume that Daphnis agreed with his first love never to associate with another, and that this promise of abstinence from love aroused the ire of Aphrodite and Eros, who kindled his passion for the maiden Xenea.¹ The nymph Nais of the eighth idyll is the first love of Daphnis, and the Lyca of Philargyrius and the Nomia of Ps.-Servius are other names of the same person, just as Chimaera is substituted for Xenea. Such a story might well be known in pastoral song as τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγεα.²

dite, in anger at his obstinacy, inspired his love for "the strange maiden" (τὰς ξένεας, 7. 73).

Jacobi (*Handwörterbuch der griech. und röm. Myth.*, s.v. *Daphnis*): Daphnis was unfaithful to the nymph whom he loved first, and associated with a mortal. When the nymph reproached him he gave up love altogether. This action angered Aphrodite, who tried to kindle in him love for his old bride. She, however, avoided him, while the mortal with whom he associated, pursued him. Sought by the one, and evaded by the other, he died.

Hiller (note on Theocritus, 1. 64): Daphnis boasted that he would resist the power of love; he thereby excited the wrath of Aphrodite, who kindled his love for a maiden. Daphnis struggled to overcome his passion, but unsuccessfully. The story in 7. 73 agrees with that in the first idyll. The story in 8. 93 is an entirely different version, and the version of the myth in the first idyll has nothing to do with the argument in Timaeus.

Legrand, *L'Étude sur Théocrite*, p. 147, seems to agree with Hiller, but finds it necessary to emend the MSS.

I am not disposed to lay much weight on the scholia in elucidating the myth in Theocritus; the scholiasts seem to have been as incapable of settling the question as we are. Cf., for instance, the varying accounts given on 1. 85 and 8. 93.

¹ Cf. Schol. Theocritus, 8. 93 (k). I cannot believe that Daphnis's connection with Artemis has anything to do with his chastity, as Reitzenstein (*Ep. und Skol.*) and even Helm (*Neue Jahrb.* CLIII. p. 459) seem to think; Legrand (*L'Étude sur Théocrite*, pp. 144 ff.) refutes the theories of Reitzenstein. Artemis occupies too unimportant a position in the myth.

² Theocritus, 5. 20; 1. 19; *Épig.* 4. 14.

There remain a few other references to Daphnis in Theocritus; in his song in the eighth idyll,¹ Daphnis tells of a maiden with meeting eyebrows who passed him, as he drove along his calves, and cried: "How handsome he is!" "But I," says Daphnis, "answered no word of railing, but cast down my eyes and went on my way." In the twenty-seventh idyll, the over-modest youth of the eighth has become more expert in the ways of the world; the idyll describes with delightful simplicity the meeting of Daphnis and a maiden. In the course of the idyll Daphnis gives his father's name as Lycidas, his mother's as Nomaea,² and there is nothing to remind us of the heroic neatherd. This is not the place to discuss the genuineness of this idyll; it is generally considered spurious. The eighth idyll, also, is not above suspicion. Aside from the genealogy offered us in the twenty-seventh idyll, however, there is nothing in these two incidents especially inconsistent with the form of the Daphnis-myth in Theocritus and other writers; we may regard them as the poet's fanciful descriptions of the first meeting of Daphnis and one of his two friends. And in this addition of fanciful details to the myth, as well as in the combination of Daphnis with other heroes, we may see the first traces of that conventionalization to which, eventually, the heroic Daphnis succumbed.

It remains briefly to discuss the death of Daphnis. According to Nymphodorus,³ a contemporary of Theocritus, who wrote about the marvellous phenomena of Sicily, the dogs of Daphnis attended his burial, and themselves died on the spot; one memorial was set up over them with their names inscribed upon it. The names of the faithful animals, slightly corrupted in our scholia to Theocritus, are better preserved in Aelian;⁴ a comparison of both our sources makes it probable that they were called Samus, Podargus, Lampas, Alcimius, and Theas.⁵ Aelian and Tzetzes⁶ differ from Nymphodorus only in mentioning the wailings and lamentations of the devoted animals prior to their master's death.

¹ vs. 72 ff.

⁵ Thoas? (Ahrens).

² vs. 41.

⁶ Tzetzes, *Chil.* 4. 261.

³ As quoted by the scholiast on Theocritus, 1. 65 (k).

⁴ Aelian, *Hist. Animal.* 11. 13.

The punishment of Daphnis, according to the older prose authorities, was loss of sight; so Timaeus, Diodorus, Aelian. It is very strange that no trace of his blindness appears in Theocritus; in the poet we have the hero's death mourned by all his friends, — gods, herdsmen, the beasts of the fields, the fowl of the air, — but the end is simply described in the words¹: "So speaking, Daphnis ceased; and Aphrodite would fain have restored him to life. But all the threads of life that the Fates had allotted him were gone, and Daphnis passed on to the stream;² the eddying waters swept in waves over the man loved of the Muses, the man whom the nymphs did not hate." The scholiast on Theocritus, 8. 93 (k), adds to the blinding the fatality of falling from a precipice. Ps.-Servius,³ in one of his stories, has Daphnis turned to stone after his blinding; and the rock near Cephaloedium, on the northern coast of Sicily, is said to

¹ Theocritus, 1. 138 ff.

² The phrase *ἔβα ῥόον* is troublesome, and possibly corrupt. Three interpretations seem to be favored by different scholars. Some have made the words mean, "threw himself into the river," and have compared the version of the myth that represents Daphnis as hurling himself from a rock; the words *ἔβα ῥόον* are certainly too mild a form of expression for such a violent suicide. Others make the words refer to an actual dissolution of Daphnis; those who adopt this view point to 7. 76 to justify their idea. But a comparison of this verse with the use of *τάκομαι* and *κατατάκομαι* elsewhere in Theocritus shows that this verb is simply a common expression for the wasting away supposed to be caused by love; and, moreover, the burden rests, with the supporters of this view, of discovering any similar fate among the catastrophes of Greek mythology; and, finally, certainly no one can maintain that the words *ἔβα ῥόον*, as they stand, can express such a dissolution. It remains only to take the words in the only possible, though still somewhat dubious, way which I have chosen: "He went to the stream," i.e. of Death. The accusative after *βάλω* is paralleled, as commentators have already shown, by two passages in Greek tragedy: *ὄρος βάσα* in Euripides, *Hipp.* 223, and *τὸ κοῖλον Ἄργος βάς* in Sophocles, *O. C.* 378; and also, perhaps, by the Homeric construction after the equivalents of *ἰκνέομαι* — cf. Theocritus, 25, 258. An objection to this interpretation is that we do not find any Greek parallels for submersion in Acheron, such as is expressed by *ἔκλυσε δῖνα*; but the idea seems to occur in the Latin poets, in connection with the Styx, — *his pressis Stygias vultum demisit in undas* (Propertius, 3. 18. 9) and *submergere Stygia aqua* several times in Ovid (*Amores*, 3. 9. 27; *Tristia*, 4. 5. 22), — all of which have been previously quoted by the commentators.

³ On Vergil, *Ecl.* 8. 68.

be the petrified neatherd. These two stories of the scholiast and Ps.-Servius are, of course, simply different versions of the same idea. Vergil¹ has Daphnis raised to heaven, and Ps.-Servius² tells us that Daphnis, after being blinded, called on his father Mercury for help, and was by him snatched up to heaven; on the spot where he had stood Mercury started a fountain, which was called "Daphnis," and to which the Sicilians yearly brought sacrifice. But it is a common view that in this eclogue Daphnis typifies Caesar, so that we must beware of granting Daphnis the deification and heavenly rest which he so richly deserved after his trials and tribulations with the other sex. With regard to this part of the myth it can be said, with considerable certainty, that the blinding was the feature of the old myth; the turning to stone, although it appears in the later authorities, may be also an incident of the earliest form of the myth, as it is a feature of early folk-tales.

Finally, I may summarize the conclusions suggested to me by this study. The Daphnis-myth uses the simple formula, — a mortal man, loved by an immortal woman, pledges himself to resist the attractions of mortal women, breaks his promise, and pays the penalty. In the application of this formula to the Daphnis-myth in its simple form, the mortal man is a Sicilian neatherd, Daphnis; the immortal woman, a nymph; the temptress, a Sicilian princess, who uses wine to overpower the neatherd; and the penalty is the blinding, and perhaps the petrification, of Daphnis. This simple form of the myth is undoubtedly old, and well established at the time of our earliest sources; but the introduction of it into literature cannot safely be ascribed to Stesichorus. Even in our oldest authorities to some extent, and more extensively in later sources, certain appropriate details already appear as additions to the simple myth; as a neatherd, Daphnis is associated in various ways with pastoral gods, Hermes, Priapus, Pan, Artemis; with other pastoral heroes, as Menalcas; and pastoral poetry is eventually ascribed to him as his peculiar property. The description of the original mistress changes; she is Echenais, Nais, Thalia, Pimplea, Nomia, Lyca; similarly, the new love, at first a nameless Sicilian princess, becomes in time Xenea, Chimaera. The simple *motif* of

¹ Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 56 ff.

² On Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 20.

the myth was localized in Sicily; the Sicilian myth Theocritus knew, but he adapted it to his literary purposes. The befuddling with wine and the blindness he rejected as objectionable; for the wine-incident he substituted the wrath of Aphrodite at the compact made between the nymph and Daphnis; the love-goddess, according to my conception of Theocritus's version, inspired Daphnis with passion for another maiden. There are traces, also, in the eighth and twenty-seventh idylls, if these be genuine, and also in the sixth, that Theocritus did not hesitate to let his fancy invent other incidents appropriate to the Daphnis-myth. Theocritus, I assume, was a Sicilian. Several writers, not Sicilian, and with less first-hand knowledge of the myth,¹ adapted it to their own purposes; Sositheus, and possibly others,² joined in one story Daphnis and Lityerses; Alexander Aetolus joined Daphnis and Marsyas; Hermesianax of Colophon joined Daphnis and Menalcas. These writers represent the tendency to combine prominent heroes in one myth; their Daphnis is not the Daphnis of the original myth, but a rather conventionalized figure. Even in Theocritus, the heroic Daphnis is getting obscured. This obscuration and conventionalization of the original Daphnis, beginning possibly in the Alexandrine period, continued during the succeeding periods of Greek literature, although we cannot trace its development; in Vergil and Longus, at any rate, the heroic Daphnis has succumbed.³

¹ It should be noted, however, that, with the exception of Sositheus, these writers are members of the so-called Coan School, and possibly the Daphnis-myth was the common property of this literary fraternity; and possibly Theocritus inspired the other poets to make use of it.

² That is, if Ps.-Servius's "Pimplea" belongs to this plot.

³ I regret that the article by R. Helm, *Daphnis bei Theokrit*, *Philologus*, LVIII (N.F. XII), p. 111, has reached me too late for consideration.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE GREEKS AT THE TIME OF THE NEW COMEDY.

BY J. B. GREENOUGH.

THE greater part of what is written on the Greek and Roman religions has to do with divinities and rites, the externals of the ancient cults. Little is said of the 'true inwardness' of these forms of religion or of the attitude of mind of the worshipper towards them. I propose to say something on these more internal aspects of the Greek religion. The most natural source of information on this subject would seem to be the 'Comedy of Life and Manners,' such as was the New Comedy of the Greeks. But unfortunately very little of that literature remains, and that only in fragments accidentally preserved. Our chief knowledge of it comes from the Latin imitations in Plautus, Terence, and a few fragments of other comedians. The freedom with which these writers treated their originals has thrown suspicion upon them as authorities for either Greek or Roman life, so that they are considered practically useless for any scientific evidence. This suspicion is in the main justified. A definite custom alluded to in the Latin plays cannot be assumed as Greek, because it may be the author's own addition, nor as Roman, because he may have borrowed it from the original. Thus this most valuable source is wholly vitiated and has ordinarily been abandoned. I think, however, that this sceptical tendency has often been carried too far. Though it is almost impossible to draw a line separating the original matter from the adapter's work, yet there are some things of which we may be reasonably certain. No one, I think, will suppose that the Roman adapters did invent or could have invented their plots or even the incidents of the plays or the characters. Whatever, then, is closely bound up with either of these so as to be an integral part of them may justly be regarded as Greek. The same is true, though perhaps in a less degree, of the general tone of the plays, the ideals and views of life, the philosophical con-

ceptions so far as these are retained, the attitude of the characters to each other and to their surroundings, in fact, everything that is general rather than detailed. Inasmuch as the questions with which I shall deal are of this kind and have to do with mental attitudes and general ideas, there is very little which bears on the subject at all that need be rejected as doubtful on account of the recognized faultiness of the source, even if we should reject all the details as untrustworthy. With these principles in mind I have gathered from the Latin comedy all the citations bearing on the conceptions of the Greeks as to their religion and on the effect upon them of their religious beliefs. To these I have added many citations from the fragments of the New Comedy preserved in the original Greek form. These I will give with brief notes where it seems desirable, and in order to make my processes and conclusions more immediately intelligible, I shall translate the passages for the most part.

A. The first subject on which the evidence bears is that of the sanctity of an oath and the supposed activity of the gods in enforcing this obligation. The indications here are very plain indeed. In *Aulularia*¹ 772 ff., Lyconides swears solemnly by Jupiter that he has not stolen a pot of gold. Euclio, though at the time in a violent frenzy, is satisfied and accepts this as proof. This is so closely connected with the action of the play that it is hardly possible to suppose it an interpolation of Plautus.

EVCL. Dic bona fide ; tu id aurum non surripuisti? LYC. Bona.

EVCL. Neque <eum> scis qui abstulerit? LYC. Istuc quoque bona.

EVCL. Atque id si scies

qui abstulerit, mihi indicabis? LYC. Faciam. EVCL. Neque partem tibi ab eo qui habet indipisces neque furem excipies? LYC. Ita.

EVCL. Quid <si> fallis? LYC. Tum me faciat quod volt magnus Iuppiter.

EVCL. Sat habeo. Age nunc loquere quid vis.

‘What if you speak falsely. — Then may great Jove do with me as he will. — I am content. Come, now, say whatever you wish.’

In *Bacchides* 1025 ff. a young man is trying to get money from his father by a ‘blackmail’ game.

¹ The Plautus passages are from Leo's edition.

NIC. 'Nunc si me fas est obsecrare abs te, pater,
da mihi ducentos nummos Philippos, te obsecro.'
CHRY. Ne unum quidem hercle, si sapis. NIC. Sine perlegam.
'Ego ius iurandum verbis conceptis dedi,
datum id me hodie mulieri ante vesperum,
prius quam a me abiret. Nunc, pater, ne perierem
cura atque abduce me hinc ab hac quantum potest,
quam propter tantum damni feci et flagiti.'

'Now if it is proper for me to beg from you, father, give me two hundred nummi, I entreat you. — Not a single one, by Jove, if you are wise. — Let me read on. I have sworn a formal oath that I would give it to the woman to-day before evening, before she left me. Now, father, take good care that I do not perjure myself, etc.'

Here, also, there is close connection with the action, and the son evidently regards this oath as the most potent means to get the money.

In *Hecyra*¹ 750 ff. Bacchis the meretrix says :

Si aliud scirem qui firmare meam apud vos possem fidem
sanctius quam ius iurandum id pollicerer tibi, Laches,
segregatum habuisse uxorem ut duxit a me Pamphilum.

'If I knew anything else more sacred than an oath to strengthen your belief in me, I would offer it, etc.'

Here, of course, the asseveration might be made in some other form without changing the action, but still it is essential to the plot. Later (771) Laches says :

Bacchis deierat persancte.

The reply of Phidippus is instructive :

Nec pol istae metuont deos neque has respicere deos opinor.

'That kind of women have no fear of the gods, nor I fancy do the gods care much for them.' (So their oath is nought).

The greater part of the Prologue of the *Rudens* turns on perjury. This prologue may not be a direct adaptation from the Greek, but

¹ Terence is cited from Dziatzko.

the whole movement of it is sufficient assurance that in all essentials it is original and not made up by Plautus or any Latin workman. Inasmuch as a storm at sea is the means of working out the plot in the punishment of a perjurer and the rescue of a pious maiden, Arcturus is introduced as Prologus to explain matters, claiming to be the agent of Jove in punishing perjury. It is to be noticed that though he speaks of crime somewhat generally yet all the details relate to perjury proper, as in v. 13 *falsas lites*, etc., v. 14 *abiurant pecuniam*, v. 17 *periurio*, v. 18 *res falsas*, v. 19 *iudicat*, v. 25 *periuris*.

Qui gentes omnes mariaque et terras movet,
eius sum civis civitate caelitum.
Ita sum ut videtis splendens stella candida,
signum quod semper tempore exoritur suo
hic atque in caelo. Nomen Arcturost mihi.
[Noctu sum in caelo clarus atque inter deos,
inter mortalis ambulo interdus.]
Et alia signa de caelo ad terram accidunt.
quist imperator divom atque hominum Iuppiter,
is nos per gentis hic alium alia disparat,
qui facta, hominum mores, pietatem et fidem
noscamus, ut quemque adjuvet opulentia.
Qui falsas litis falsis testimoniis
petunt quique in iure abiurant pecuniam,
eorum referimus nomina exscripta ad Iovem.
Cotidie ille scit quis hic quaerat malum.
Qui hic litem apisci postulant periurio
mali, res falsas qui impetrant aput iudicem,
iterum ille eam rem iudicatam iudicat :
maiore multa multat quam litem auferunt.
Bonos in aliis tabulis exscriptos habet.
Atque hoc scelesti illi in animum inducunt suum,
Iovem se placare posse donis, hostiis.
Et operam et sumptum perdunt. Id eo fit, quia :
nihil ei acceptumst a periuris supplici.
Facilius siqui pius est a dis supplicans
Quam qui scelestust inveniet veniam sibi.
Idcirco moneo vos ego haec, qui estis boni
Quique aetatem agitis cum pietate et cum fide :
retinete porro, post factum ut laetemini.

A further reference to perjury is found in the same play in v. 46:

Datque arrabonem et iureiurando adligat

(*i.e.* the purchaser binds the Leno by an oath to keep his bargain), but it goes on, v. 47:

Is leno, ut se aequomst, flocci non fecit fidem
neque quod iuratus adulescenti dixerat.

As the villain has broken his oath, he naturally falls under the displeasure of the gods. Hence Arcturus raises a storm and wrecks the Leno's vessel (Prol. 57 ff.):

... Navis clanculum conducitur.
Quidquid erat, noctu in navem conportat domo
leno: adulescenti, qui puellam ab eo emerat,
ait sese Veneri velle votum solvere
(id hic est fanum Veneris) et eo ad prandium
vocavit adulescentem huc. Ipse hinc ilico
navem conscendit, avehit meretriculas.
Adulescenti alii narrant ut res gesta sit:
lenonem abisse. Ad portum adulescens venit,
illorum navis longe in altum apscesserat.
Ego quoniam video virginem asportarier,
tetuli ei auxilium et lenoni exitium semul:
inrepui hibernum et fluctus movi maritimos.
Nam Arcturus signum omnium sum acerrimum:
vehemens sum exoriens, quom occido vehementior.
Nunc ambo in saxo, leno atque eius hospes, simul
sedent eieci: navis confracta est eis.

In *Andria* 694 Pamphilus swears that he won't desert Glycerium. Whereupon Mysis, the maid, is at once reassured.

... Mysis,
per omnis tibi adiuro deos nunquam eam me deserturum. ...
MYSIS. Resipisco.

This case, though less strong than the preceding, must, on account of its formality and the effect on the maid, have been a part of the original plot.

In *Andria* 727 Davus gets Mysis to put the baby down before the young man's door, so that he himself can swear with a good conscience that he did n't put it there.

MY. Quam ob rem id tute non facis?

DA. Quia si forte opus sit ad erum iurato mihi non adposisse ut liquido possim.

It is true that this is a pretence of Davus, but it shows all the more the general feeling on the subject.

The ironical and jocose oath of Philocrates in *Captivi* 426 assumes the same state of mind in reference to oaths:

Id ut scias, Iovem supremum testem laudo, Hægio,
me infidelem non futurum Philocrati. HÆ. Probus es homo.

PH. Nec me secus umquam ei facturum quicquam quam memet mihi.

'That you may be assured of this I call Supreme Jove to witness that I will not be unfaithful to Philocrates.' (He is pretending to be Tyndarus.)

Again, in *Miles* 1414, the soldier is forced to swear formally, and is let off on the strength of his oath:

Iuro per Iovem et Mavortem me nociturum nemini.

Without this the action would not be complete, and we may suppose that it was in the original.

The same view of the sanctity of an oath is seen in the stock character of the Leno. The point of his offending is his perjury (cf. *Rudens* Prologue, above). In *Rudens* 651 he is called *periuri plenissimus*. In *Rudens* 1370, ff., his conduct to Gripus especially turns on perjury:

... GR. Propera. LA. Quid properabo?— GR. Reddere argentum mihi.

LA. Neque edepol tibi do neque quicquam debeo. ...

GR. Non debes? LA. Non hercle vero. GR. Non tu iuratus mihi es?

LA. Iuratus sum, et nunc iurabo, siquid voluptatist mihi:

ius iurandum rei servandae, non perdundae conditum est.

GR. Cedo sis mihi talentum magnum argenti, periurissime.

DÆ. Gripe, quod tu istum talentum poscis? GR. Iuratust mihi

dare. LA. Lubet iurare: tun meo pontifex periurio's?
DÆ. Qua pro re argentum promisit hic tibi? GR. Si vidulum
hunc redegissem in potestatem eius, iuratust dare
mihi talentum magnum argenti. LA. Cedo quicum habeam iudicem,
ni dolo malo instipulatus sis nive etiamdum hau siem
quinque et viginti annos natus.

The whole form of oath in this case is instructive (1331 ff.):

LA. Quid istic? necessumst, video:
dabitur talentum. GR. Accededum huc: Vēnus haec volo adroget te.
LA. Quod tibi lubet, id me impera. GR. Tange aram hanc Veneris.
LA. Tango.
GR. Per Venerem hanc iurandumst tibi. LA. Quid iurem? GR. Quod
iubebo.
LA. Praei verbis quidvis: quod domist, numquam ulli supplicabo.
GR. Tene aram hanc. LA. Teneo. GR. Deiera te argentum mihi daturum
eodem illo die ubi viduli sies potitus. LA. Fiat.
GR. LA. Venus Cyrenensis, testem te testor mihi,
si vidulum illum, quem ego in navi perdidi,
cum auro atque argento salvom investigavero
isque in potestatem meam pervenerit:
GR. Tum ego huice Gripo, inquito et me tangito. •
LA. Tum ego huice Gripo, dico, Venus, ut tu audias.
GR. LA. Talentum argenti magnum continuo dabo.
GR. Si defraudassis, dic ut in quaestu tuo
Venus eradicet caput atque aetatem tuam.
Tecum hoc tute habeto, tamen ubi iuraveris.
LA. Illut ego advorsum siquid peccasso, Venus,
veneror te ut omnes miseri lenones sient.
GR. Tam fiet, etsi tu fidem servaveris.
Tu hic opperire: iam ego faxo exhibit senex:
eum tu continuo vidulum reposcito.
LA. Si maxime illum mihi reddiderit vidulum,
non ego illic hodie debeo triobulum.
Meus arbitratust, lingua quod iuret mea.
Set contisciscam: eccum exit et ducit senem.

In *Adelphi* 188 the Leno says: 'I am a pander, a perjurer, the
plague of young men.'

Leno sum . . . periurus, pestis, etc.

The same feeling is shown in *Adelphi* 265. One enquires: 'Where is that sacrilegious wretch?' To which the Leno replies: 'He is looking for me.'

Ubi est ille sacrilegus?—
Me quaerit.

In *Rudens* 360 one says when the Leno is shipwrecked: *periurum perdidisti*, 'you've destroyed a perjurer.'

In a fragment of Antiphanes (Fr. 241)¹ a slave lays down the principle that if one trusts not a man not known to be guilty of perjury he is a scorner of the gods.

Δέσποιν' όταν τις ὀμνύοντος καταφρονῇ
ᾧ μὴ σύννοιδε πρότερον ἐπιωρκηκότι
οὗτος καταφρονεῖν τῶν θεῶν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ
καὶ πρότερον ὁμόσας αὐτὸς ἐπιωρκήκηναι.

'Mistress, when one scorns a man on oath not known before to have perjured himself, he seems to me to scorn the gods, and having sworn before to have committed perjury himself.'

But as one should expect in a comedy representing various sorts of persons, there is also a fragment of Antiphanes (Fr. 233) conveying a different sentiment:

Ὁ διδοὺς τὸν ὄρκον τῷ πονηρῷ μαίνεται
τοῦναντιὸν γὰρ νῦν ποιοῦσιν οἱ θεοί.
ἐὰν ἐπιωρκήσῃ τις αὐτὸς εὐθέως
ὁ διδοὺς τὸν ὄρκον ἐγένετ' ἐμβρόντητος ὥς
οἶμαι δικαίως ὅτι πεπίστευκέν τινι.

'He who accepts an oath from a bad man is mad. For the gods now go by contraries. If one swears falsely the man himself is "thunderstruck" (*i.e.* driven mad) who accepts the oath, and it serves him right, I think, for trusting a man.'

The godlessness of the Leno, especially on account of his perjury, as well as his disfavor with the gods, appears in a great part of the

¹ The citations of the Greek Comedy are from Kock: *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*.

Poenulus. For instance, v. 449 ff., this personage having attempted to get favorable sacrifices from Venus, but unsuccessfully, says :

Di illum infelicit omnes, qui post hunc diem
leno ullam Veneri umquam immolarit hostiam
quive ullum turis granum sacrificaverit.
nam ego hodie infelix dis meis iratissimis
sex immolavi agnos, nec potui tamen
propitiam Venerem facere uti esset mihi.
quoniam litare nequeo, abii illum ilico
iratus, votui exta prosicari.

‘May the gods destroy every pander who after this day sacrifices a victim to Venus, or offers a grain of incense. . . . I have sacrificed six lambs and could n’t make her propitious. Since I can’t get favorable omens I came away angry and forbade the inwards to be offered (*i.e.* after the victims have been killed he won’t offer any).’ He says afterwards he will serve her so all the gods shall learn better hereafter.

In *Poenulus* 847 the favor of the gods is denied to the Leno :

S. Nunc domum haec ab aede Veneris refero vasa, ubi hostiis
erus nequivit propitiare Venerem suo festo die.
M. Lepidam Venerem. S. Nam meretrices nostrae primis hostiis
Venerem placavere extemplo. M. O lepidam Venerem denuo.

‘Now I am taking home these utensils from the temple of Venus, now that master has n’t been able to propitiate the goddess with victims on her own festal day.—O charming Venus!—For our girls appeased Venus with the first victims.—O charming Venus again!’

Again, in *Poenulus* 823, the Leno is spoken of as accursed :

Satis spectatum est, deos atque homines eius neglegere gratiam,
quoi homini erus est consimilis velut ego habeo hunc huius modi.
Neque perior neque peior alter usquam est gentium,
quam erus meus est, neque tam luteus neque tam caeno conlitus.
Ita me di ament, vel in lautumiis vel in pistrino mavelim
agere aetatem praepeditus latere forti ferreo
quam apud lenonem hunc servitutem colere.

'It's sufficiently proved that gods and men scorn the worship and attention of any man like the master of this kind that I have. And there is n't anywhere in the world another, a greater perjurer, nor a worse rascal than my master is, nor so nasty, nor so besmirched. As I hope to live I'd rather pass my life in the quarries or in the mill fettered with a stout pig of iron than to be a slave to this pander.'

Again, in *Poenulus* 457 ff., we have the mutual attitude of the Leno and the gods :

Eo pacto avarae Veneri pulchre adii manum
quando id quod sat erat, satis habere noluit,
ego pausam feci. Sic ago, sic me decet.
Ego faxo posthac di deaeque ceteri
contentiores mage erunt atque avidi minus,
quom scibunt, Veneri ut adierit leno manum.
Condigne haruspex, non homo trioboli,
omnibus in extis aibat portendi mihi
malum damnumque et deos esse iratos mihi.

Again, in *Pseudolus* 265, the Leno says if he were sacrificing to Jupiter and a chance for gain were offered him, he would leave the rite. *Pseudolus* thereupon says : 'The gods whom one ought most to fear he makes of least account.'

BAL. Respiciam istoc pretio ; nam si sacrificem summo Iovi
atque in manibus exta teneam, ut poriciam, interea loci
si lucri quid detur, potius rem divinam deseram.
non potest pietati opsisti huic, utut res sunt ceterae.
Ps. Deos quidem, quos maxime aequom est metuere, eos minimi facit.

Again, in *Pseudolus* 344, Callidorus reminds Ballio of his oath, but he treats him and it with scorn :

CAL. Meam tu amicam vendidisti? BAL. Valde, viginti minis.
CAL. Viginti minis? BAL. Vtrum vis, vel quater quinis minis,
militi Macedonio, et iam quindecim habeo minas.
CAL. Quid ego ex te audio? BAL. Amicam tuam esse factam argenteam.
CAL. Cur id ausu's facere? BAL. Libuit, mea fuit. CAL. Eho, Pseudole,
ei, gladium adfer. Ps. Quid opus gladio? CAL. Qui hunc occidam
atque me.

PS. Quin tu ted occidis potius? nam hunc fames iam occiderit.

CAL. Quid ais, quantum terra tegit hominum periurissime?
iuravistin te illam nulli venditurum nisi mihi?

BAL. Fateor. CAL. Nempe conceptis verbis? BAL. Etiam consutis quoque.

CAL. Periuravisti, sceleste. BAL. At argentum intro condidi.
ego scelestus nunc argentum promere possum domo;
tu qui pius, istoc es genere gnatus, nummum non habes.

In *Amphis* (Fr. 42) it is said:

Ὅστις γὰρ ὀμνύοντι μὴδὲν πείθεται
αὐτὸς ἐπιτορκεῖν ῥαδίως ἐπίστανται,

‘whoever trusts not a man on oath knows what perjury is himself.’

B. The binding force of an adjuration compelling the conscience of the person adjured is fully recognized.

In the *Asinaria* 16 ff. there is a comic adjuration of a slave. “As you wish your only son to survive you, etc., if you tell me anything false to-day, may your wife live to bury you, etc.” The answer is, “You ask by the god of sacred faith; I see it is necessary to speak as on oath.” Though this is burlesque, yet it clearly shows the feeling in regard to such adjurations generally:

Sicut tuom vis unicum gnatum tuae
superesse vitae sospitem et superstitem,
ita ted obtestor per senectutem tuam
perque illam quam tu metuis uxorem tuam:
si quid med erga hodie falsum dixeris
ut tibi superstes uxor aetatem siet
atque illa viva vivos ut pestem oppetas.
DEM. Per Dium Fidium quaeris: iurato mihi
video necesse esse eloqui quidquid rogas.

In *Andria* 538 Chremes is adjured by Simo:

Per te deos oro et nostram amicitiam, Chremes. —
Ah ne me obsecre.

‘Ah, do not adjure me,’ but he consents. He evidently wishes to comply, but also to avoid the binding force of the *spell*.

C. The third indication from the passages is the binding obligation of the service of the gods and the belief in its efficacy. (I.) The

worship of the household gods was scrupulously observed, particularly by women and the young. Its omission would be unquestionably unlucky, to say the least, and in all cases was closely bound up with the well-being of the family.

In the Prologue to the *Aulularia*, a treasure is said, by the Lar Familiaris, who appears as Prologue, to have been buried under the hearth and entrusted to his keeping with a prayer that he should guard it for the owner. The owner's son honored the Lar less and less and so was allowed to die without discovering the treasure. The grandson did the same, but the latter had a daughter who daily gave incense or wine or something, and garlands, so the Lar leads her father to find the treasure (*Aulularia*, Prol. 1-27) :

Ne quis miretur qui sim paucis eloquar.
 Ego Lar sum familiaris ex hac familia
 unde exeuntem me aspexistis. Hanc domum
 iam multos annos est cum possideo et colo
 patri avoque iam huius qui nunc hic habet.
 Sed mi avos huius obsecrans concredidit
 thesaurum auri clam omnis ; in medio foco
 defodit venerans me ut id servarem sibi.
 Is quoniam moritur, ita avido ingenio fuit,
 numquam indicare id filio voluit suo
 inopemque optavit potius eum relinquere
 quam eum thesaurum commonstraret filio ;
 agri reliquit ei non magnum modum
 quo cum labore magno et misere viveret.
 Vbi is obiit mortem qui mihi id aurum credidit
 coepi observare ecqui maiorem filius
 mihi honorem haberet quam eius habuisset pater.
 Atque ille vero minus minusque impendio
 curare minusque me impertire honoribus.
 Item a me contra factum est nam item obiit diem.
 Is ex se hunc reliquit qui hic nunc habitat filium
 pariter moratum ut pater avosque huius fuit.
 Huic filia una est ; ea mihi cottidie
 aut ture aut vino aut aliqui semper supplicat,
 dat mihi coronas. Eius honoris gratia
 feci thesaurum ut hic reperiret Euclio
 quo illam facilius nuptum si vellet daret.

In its present form there is no reason to believe that this prologue was written by a Greek author. But the connection of the prologue with the plot, the similarity of tone, the selection of the place for the buried treasure, and the general agreement with Greek customs seems to entitle us to believe that the motive at least was in the original from the beginning, and so may be counted as Greek.

In *Mercator* 830 a young man going away says: 'I salute the lintel and threshold and Penates, the gods of my parents, and the Lar, the father of my family. I give it in charge to you to guard well the estate of my parents; I shall seek other gods.' And again in v. 864 he salutes the 'Lares viales,'—'I invoke you that you may kindly aid me:'

Limen superum inferumque salve simul autem vale.
Hunc hodie postremum extollo mea domo patria pedem.
Vsus fructus victus cultus iam mihi harunc aedium
interemptust interfectust alienatus occidi.
Di Penates meum parentum familiai Lar pater
vobis mando meum parentum rem bene ut tutemini.
Aliam urbem aliam civitatem ab Atticis abhorreo.
.
Invoco vos Lares viales ut me bene tutetis.

In *Trinummus* 39 the taking up of a new residence is indicated by the master of the house saying:

Larem corona nostrum decorari volo;
uxor, venerare ut nobis haec habitatio
bona fausta felix fortunataque evenat—
teque ut quam primum possim videam emortuam.

'I wish our Lar to be adorned with a garland. Wife, pray that this abode be good, favorable, fortunate, and blest to us, etc.' Here the change of tone at the end only makes more certain the universality of the custom.

In *Rudens* 1205 a householder has recovered his daughter and so gives orders:

. . . Adorna ut rem divinam faciam . . .
Laribus familiaribus cum auxerunt nostram familiam.

‘Adorn the house so I may make a sacrifice to the gods of the household, now they have increased our family.’

In *Miles* 1339 a slave departing says :

Etiam nunc saluto te (Lar) familiaris prius quam eo,
conservi conservaeque omnis bene valet et vivite.

‘Once more now I salute you, god of the household, and all you fellow-servants and maids, etc.’

In *Aulularia* 385 the father of the bride is a miser, but has bought the marriage offerings at the least expense in order that they may not be wanting :

Nunc tusculum emi hoc et coronas floreas.
Haec imponentur in foco vostro Lari
ut fortunatas faciat gnatae nuptias.

‘Now I have bought this bit of incense and garlands of flowers. These shall be offered at the hearth to the household god, that he may bless the marriage of my daughter.’

In like manner in Antiphanes, Fr. 206 :

Ἦκω πολυτελῶς ἀγοράσας εἰς τοὺς γάμους
λιβανωτὸν ὀβολοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς
πάσαισι, τοῖς δ’ ἥρωσι τὰ ψαῖστ’ ἀπονέμων.
Ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἐπριάμην κωβιούς.

‘I come from the market, where I have magnificently provided for the wedding an obol worth of incense for all the gods and goddesses, and to the demigods I assign sacred cakes. But for us mortals I have bought fish ‘κωβιοί(?)’ Here again the miser and misanthrope cannot omit the regular sacrifice to the heavenly powers, though he gets off as cheaply as he can.

In *Phormio* 311 Demipho, coming home from abroad, says :

Ego deos Penatis hinc salutatum domum
devortar ; inde ibo ad forum atque aliquot mihi
amicos advocabo ad hanc rem qui adsient
ut ne imparatus sim si veniat Phormio.

‘I will go off home to pay my respects to my household gods, etc.’ This comes in in the natural development of the plot, and is partic-

ularly significant because Demipho has a most important business matter on hand, which he postpones for this necessary religious act.

In *Adelphi* 899 an impatient young bridegroom says :

Occidunt me quidem dum nimis sanctas nuptias
student facere, in adparando consumunt diem.

‘They are boring me to death, trying to make my wedding too sacred; they’re wasting the whole day in preparation.’ This evidently refers to the sacrifices and rites supposed to be necessary on such occasions.

In *Aulularia* 612 Euclio says :

Nunc lavabo ut rem divinam faciam ne adfinem morer
quin ubi accersat meam extemplo filiam ducat domum.

‘Now I’ll take a bath to make a sacrifice so that I need n’t delay my kinsman in taking home my daughter, etc.,’ referring to the necessary sacred rites preceding the wedding.

In *Adelphi* 699 a father intending to have his son married says :

Abi domum ac deos comprecare ut uxorem arcessas, abi.

‘Go home and pray to the gods so you may fetch the bride.’

In *Phormio* 702 a young man is to be married against his will, and his slave says :

Spatium quidem tandem adparandi nuptias
vocandi sacrificandi dabitur paululum.

‘After all, a little bit of time will be allowed for getting ready for the wedding, for sending invitations, for making sacrifices, meanwhile, etc.’ These arrangements are spoken of as necessary even in the greatest haste.

(II) Besides the worship of the household gods many sacrifices to particular gods were obligatory on special occasions.

Juno Lucina is regularly invoked by women in confinement, evidently corresponding to a like prayer to Artemis among the Greeks. So in *Aulularia* 692 :

Perii mea nutrix. Obsecro te uterum dolet,
Iuno Lucina tuam fidem.

Also in *Andria* 473 :

Iuno Lucina fer opem serva me obsecro.

This is taken by an old man concerned as a part of a regular plan, a pretended accouchement, to frighten off the father of an intended bride. The same words are used in *Adelphi* 487.

In *Truculentus* 475 a meretrix pretends to be confined and says :

... Nunc prius praecaveo sciens
sumque ornata ita ut aegra videar quasi puerperio cubem.
Date mi huc stactam atque ignem in aram ut venerem Lucinam meam,

and further, 480 :

Fer huc verbenam mi intus et bellaria.

This more detailed description of the rites (used as a trick) shows clearly the regularity of such observances.

So in case of any journey a sacrifice was natural.

In *Miles* 411 a girl pretending to come from Athens to Ephesus comes out to make a sacrifice as a part of the deceit, and says :

Inde ignem in aram ut Ephesiae Dianae laeta laudes
gratesque agam eique ut Arabico purificem odore amoene
quom me in locis Neptuniis templisque turbulentis
servavit saevis fluctibus ubi sum adflectata multum.

‘Place fire on the altar that I may joyfully offer praise and thanks to Diana of Ephesus, and honor her with the sweet odor of Arabic incense, for that she has preserved me in the realms of Neptune and the stormy regions amid the cruel waves wherein I was sorely tempest-tost.’

Here we find the usual attempt at elevation of style that belongs to religious matters, and the evidence is all the stronger because the whole is a part of a plot and must depend for its force on the regularity of the custom.

In *Stichus* 402 Epignomus, returning from a business expedition abroad, formally expresses his gratitude :

Quom bene re gesta salvos convortor domum
Neptuno grates habeo et Tempestatibus
simul Mercurio qui me in mercimoniis
iuvit lucrisque quadruplicavit rem meam.

‘Inasmuch as I now return safe and successful home I am filled with thankfulness to Neptune and the Storms, and to Mercury as

well, who has aided me in my ventures and blessed me fourfold with gains.'

In *Mercator* 675 a wife and mother comes in from the country to the town house of the family on business, and as she approaches says :

... Aliquid cedo
qui hanc vicini nostri aram augeam. ...
Da sane hanc virgam lauri. ...
Apollo quaeso te ut des pacem propitius
salutem et sanitatem nostrae familiae
meoque ut parcas gnato pace propitius.

'Here, give me something to place on the altar of our neighbor (Apollo, whose temple is hard by). Yes, give me that branch of laurel. ... I pray thee, Apollo, to kindly grant thy favor and life and health to our family, and graciously to spare my son.'

The whole of this is evidently Greek. The necessity for sacrifice comes from the moving from the country seat to the town house.

In *Trinummus* 820 Charmides prays to Neptune on coming home from a voyage :

Salsipotenti et multipotenti Iovis fratri et Nerei Neptuno
laetus lubens laudes ago et grates gratiasque habeo et fluctibus salsis,
quos penes mei fuit saepe potestas, bonis meis quid foret et meae vitae,
quom suis med ex locis in patriam suavissimam reducem faciunt.
Atque ego, Neptune, tibi ante alios deos gratias ago atque habeo summas.
Nam te omnes saevomque severumque, avidis moribus commemorant,
spurcificum, inmanem, intolerandum, vesanum : contra opera expertus.
Nam pol placido te et clementi meo usque modo ut volui usus sum in alto.
Atque hanc tuam gloriam iam ante auribus acceperam et nobilest aput
homines :
pauperibus te parcere solitum, ditis damnare atque domare.
Abi, laudo : scis ordine ut aequomst tractare homines : hoc dis dignumst :
[semper mendicis modesti sint.]
Fidus fuisti : infidum esse iterant. Nam apsque foret te, sat scio in alto
distraxissent disque tulissent satellites tui me miserum foede
bonaque omnia <mea> item una mecum passim caeruleos per campos : —
ita iam quasi canes hau secus circumstabant navem turbines venti :
imbres fluctusque atque procellae infensae frangere malum,
ruere antemnas, scindere vela : ni tua pax propitia foret praesto.

Apagē a me sis : dehinc iam certumst otio dare me : satis partum habeo,
quibus aerumnis deluctavi, filio dum divitias quaero.

The attempt at an elevated style and the length of the prayer and its position in the play mark this as an important ceremonial religious act, and this idea is not excluded by anything in the tone. Nor can we imagine it an insertion by Plautus himself.

In *Bacchides* 170 Chrysalus, a slave, returning after a two years' absence, says :

Erilis patria salve quam ego biennio
postquam hinc in Ephesum abii conspicio lubens.
Saluto te vicine Apollo qui aedibus
propinquos nostris accolis veneroque te
ne Nicobulum me sinas nostrum senem
prius convenire quam sodalem viderim
Mnesilochi Pistoclerum, etc.

'Hail, native city of my master, which I gladly see again (now for the first time) since I went from here two years ago to Ephesus. I salute you, neighbor Apollo, who dwell near by, close to our house, and I pray you not to permit our old gentleman to meet me before I have seen Pistoclerus.'

That this is not a mere form but an observed custom is shown by the joining of the special petition.

In *Rudens* 253 the two girls, when shipwrecked, pray to the god of the temple on the shore as soon as they discover it.

PAL. Set quid hoc obsecro est? AMP. Quid? PAL. Viden amabo
fanum [videsne] hoc? AMP. Vbi est? PAL. Ad dexteram.

AMP. Video decorum dis locum viderier.

PAL. Haud longe abesse oportet homines hinc, ita hic lepidus locus.

⟨Quisquis⟩ est deus veneror ut nos ex hac aerumna eximat
miseras inopis aerumnosas ut aliquo auxilio adiuvet.

'But for mercy's sake, what's this? — What? — Don't you see this temple? — Where is it? — On the right. — I see it seems a place worthy of the gods. — Men can't be far away from here, it is such a charming place. Whoever the god is, I pray that he may rescue us from this trouble, and may bring us some aid, wretched, poor, and in misery as we are.'

In *Bacchides* 347 a slave says of his master just returned from abroad :

Deos atque amicos iit salutatum ad forum,

thus coupling these two acts as his first natural duties. We may compare *Phormio* 311 above, p. 154.

In *Captivi* 922 Hegio expresses his gratitude for his son's recovery :

Iovi disque ago gratias merito magnas,
quom reducem tuo te patri reddiderunt
quomque ex miseriis plurimis me exemerunt,
quae, etc.

'To Jove and the gods I justly render many thanks, that they have now restored you, brought back to your father, and that they have relieved me of very many woes which, while I was deprived of you,' etc. (doubtful). The formal tone shows clearly a religious act of worship, though unaccompanied by any rites.

In *Mostellaria* 431 Theopropides, coming home from a journey, says :

Habeo Neptune gratiam magnam tibi
quam med amisisti abs te vix vivom domum.

'I feel the warmest gratitude to you, Neptune, that you have just barely let me off to come home alive.'

Here, however, the heartiness of the religious feeling is made somewhat suspicious by the added remarks :

Verum si posthac me pedem latum modo
scies imposisse in undam hau causast ilico
quod nunc voluisti facere quin facias mihi.
Apage, apage te a me nunciam post hunc diem
quod crediturus tibi fui omne credidi.

'But if ever hereafter you know of my trusting myself on the waves even a foot-breadth, there's no reason why you should n't do to me what you wanted to just now. Clear out, clear out from me from this day on ; I've trusted you all that I ever was going to trust you.' Many persons would seem to have had such a fear and distrust of their gods, while most had a more confident relation to them.

The practice and the obligation of sacrifice generally appears in many passages.

In *Captivi* 289 a mean man is described thus :

HEG. . . . Tenaxne pater est eius? PHIL. Immo edepol pertinax.
Quin etiam ut magis noscas: Genio suo ubi quando sacrificat
ad rem divinam quibus est opus Samiis vasis utitur
ne ipse Genius surripiat; proinde aliis ut credat vide.

‘Is his father close? — No, by Jove, tight as the bark of a tree. Why, that you may know him better, when he sacrifices to his guardian Genius he uses only earthen vessels, for fear the Genius himself should steal them, so you can see how much he trusts others.’

Here, were it not for the obligation of sacrifice, obviously the safest way for the miser would be not to sacrifice at all, but this is impliedly impossible.

An evidence of habitual sacrifice is found in Menander, Fr. 560 :

θύων οὐδεπώποτ' ἠϋξάμην
ἐγὼ τὸ σῶζον τὴν ἐμὴν συνοικίαν,
ἀλλὰ παρέλιπον οἰκετῶν εἶναι στάσιν
ἔνδον παρ' αὐτῶν, πρᾶγμα χρησιμώτατον.

‘When sacrificing I have never prayed for the safety of my household, but I allowed some discord to exist within among its members, a most useful state of things’ (*i.e.* better than prayer).

This sentence, put in the mouth of a cynical person, clearly shows the custom and the common belief in its efficacy.

In *Stichus* 251 Gelasimus, sent for by a lady, assumes at once that she is going to make a sacrifice:

Iamne exta cocta sunt? Quot agnis fecerat?

‘Are the inwards cooked yet? How many lambs did she offer?’ To be sure the speaker is a hungry parasite, but the jest would have no force if his interpretation were not a natural one.

In *Rudens* 150 there is an allusion to a sacrifice *propter viam*, offered when starting on a journey. The passage is obscure, but the rite was evidently regular and certainly Greek.

In *Miles* 711 an old man not wishing to marry says:

Sacrificant, dant inde partem mihi maiorem quam sibi,
abducunt ad exta.*

‘They make a sacrifice, they give me a larger part of it than they keep themselves, they invite me to the inwards.’¹ The force is that in his childless condition he receives all sorts of attentions from legacy hunters, and of these the most natural and important example is the invitation to partake of sacrifices, showing that these played a great part in the domestic life of the Greeks.

In *Captivi* 861 Ergasilus’s method of tantalizing Hegio with the good news of his son’s return is significant both of the custom of sacrifice and of its ritualistic character:

ERG. Sed iube
vasa tibi pura apparari ad rem divinam cito
atque agnum afferri proprium pinguem. H. Cur?
ERG. Vt sacrifices.
H. Cui deorum? ERG. Mi hercle nam ego nunc tibi sum summus
Iuppiter,
idem ego sum Salus Fortuna Lux Laetitia Gaudium.
Proin tu deum hunc saturitate facias tranquillum tibi.

‘But bid clean vessels to be prepared and a fat and proper lamb. —What for? —To sacrifice. —To what god? —To me, bless you, for I am now your supreme Jove, Salvation, Fortune, Light, Joy, and Gladness, therefore you’d better make your peace with this god by gorging him.’

In *Captivi* 768 the thanksgiving of Ergasilus, though strongly burlesque, looks in the same direction:

Iuppiter supreme, servas me measque auges opes:
maxumas opimitates opiparasque offers mihi:
laudem, lucrum, ludum, iocum, festivitatem, ferias,
pompan, penum, potationes, saturitatem, gaudium.

¹ This was an honor. Once when travelling in Greece I happened to go through a village on Easter day. There was a large number of lambs roasting on spits in the open air, evidently a survival of ancient sacrificial rites. The hearts and livers, which were cooked long before the solid meat, were offered to our party as distinguished strangers, ‘Lordoi,’ as the Greeks would express it.

Nec quoquam homini supplicare . . . nunc certumst mihi :
 nam vel prodesse amico possum vel inimicum perdere.
 Ita hic me amoenitate amoena amoenus oneravit dies :
 sine sacris hereditatem sum aptus ecfertissumam.
 Nunc ad senem cursum capessam hunc Hegionem, cui boni
 tantum adfero, quantum ipse a dis optat, atque etiam amplius.

‘Supreme Jove, you save my life and increase my resources. You bring to me the greatest and most splendid luxuries, praise, profit, pastime, jest, gaiety, festivity, a gala day, provisions, potations, repletion, delight. I am saved, and I am now assured not to have to go down on my knees to any man, for I can now help a friend or ruin an enemy; this lovely day has so loaded me with lovely loveliness; I have got such a rich inheritance without incumbrances. Now I will hasten my course to the old man Hegio here, to whom I am the bearer of as great blessings as he can desire from the immortal gods and even more.’

In *Curculio* 527 the pander has made a good trade and says :

Quando bene gessi rem volo hic in fano supplicare.

.

Quoi homini di sunt propitii lucrum ei profecto obiciunt.

Nunc rei divinae operam dabo. Certumst bene me curare.

‘Since I’ve done a good stroke of business, I mean to offer my prayers in the temple. . . . When the gods are propitious to a man they certainly throw gain in his way. Now I’ll attend to religious matters. I’m determined to take good care of myself (*i.e.* with food, etc.).’

This passage not only tends to prove the practice of thanksgiving for success in business, but the belief in it. The selfish element in religion is not absent, as indeed it rarely is anywhere, a fact which is constantly recognized and appealed to from the pulpit.

In *Epidicus* 413 a music girl is introduced on the pretence that a father has hired her to play at a sacrifice :

PER. Mirum hoc qui potuit fieri. EP. Te pro filio
 facturum dixit rem esse divinam domi
 quia Thebis salvos redierit.

‘It’s a marvel how this could be done. Oh, he said that you were going to make a sacrifice at your house for your son, because he has returned safe from Thebes.’ As has been said several times, these cases of pretence are particularly significant, inasmuch as the pretended facts must, of course, conform to usage.

In *Rudens* 305 the fishermen pray for luck to Venus, whose temple they pass:

Nunc Venerem hanc veneremur bonam
ut nos lepide adiuerit hodie.

‘Now let us pray to kindly Venus here that she may graciously aid us to-day.’

In *Rudens* 906 Gripus, a slave, gives formal thanks to Neptune for his luck in fishing, whereby he has pulled up a valuable valise:

Neptuno has ago gratias meo patrono,
qui salsis locis incolit pisculentis,
quom me ex suis locis pulcre ornatum expedit
templis reducem, pluruma praeda onustum
salute horiae, quae in mari fluctuoso
piscatu novo me uberi compotivit.

In *Stichus* 396 a lady orders the slaves to prepare a sacrifice on the occasion of her husband’s coming home after a long absence.

I intro Pinacium iube famulos rem divinam mi apparent.

‘Go inside, Pinacium, bid the slaves prepare me a sacrifice.’

In *Stichus* 623 Pamphilus, coming home, says:

Deos salutabo modo; post ad te continuo transeo.

‘I will just pay my respects to the gods, and then I will at once come over to you.’

In *Phormio* 894 Demipho gives formal thanks for the good fortune of his brother in finding his daughter:

Dis magnas merito gratias habeo atque ago
quando evenere haec nobis frater prospere.

In *Pseudolus* 326 a pander deceives a young man, Calidorus, pretending that he is not going to sell the young man's mistress, whom, in fact, he has already sold, whereupon Calidorus breaks out :

Pseudole i arcesse hostias
victumas lanios ut ego huic sacrificem summo Iovi
nam hic mihi nunc est multo potior Iuppiter quam Iuppiter.

'Pseudolus, go fetch victims large and small and butchers, that I may sacrifice to this supreme Jove, for he to me is a much more powerful Jupiter than Jove himself.'

In *Mercator* 842 Eutychus offers a prayer apparently to Fortune :

Divom atque hominum quae spectatrix (?) atque era eadem es hominibus
spem speratam quom obtulisti hanc mihi tibi grates ago.

'Thou, goddess, who art the observer of both gods and men, and likewise mistress of mankind, I give thee thanks, that thou hast fulfilled this longed-for hope.'

In 850 he adds :

Date di quaeso conveniundi mi eius celerem copiam.

'Give me, ye gods, a speedy chance of meeting him.'

Although the last is a not uncommon form of mere wishing, yet the character of the young man and the seriousness of the context indicate a really religious feeling.

The scene in *Poenulus* 252 ff. shows the ceremonial side, with its obligation and the mixed spirit of the observances. The speakers are meretrices, the time the Aphrodisia :

AD. Sunt hic omnia
quae ad deum pacem oportet adesse? AUT. Omnia accuravi.

AUT. Eamus mea soror. AD. Eho amabo, quid illo nunc properas?

AUT. Rogas?

Quia erus nos apud aedem Veneris mantat. AD. Maneat pol, mane.
Turba est nunc apud aram. Au te ibi vis inter istas versarier
prosedas, pistorum amicas reliquias alicarias
miseras schoeno delibutas servolicolas sordidas . . . ?

AUT. *Nimia nos socordia hodie tenuit.* AD. *Qua de re obsecro?*
 AUT. *Quia non iam dudum ante lucem ad aedem Veneris venimus*
primae ut inferremus ignem in aram. AD. *Aha non factost opus.*
Quae habent nocturna era noctu sacrificatum ire occupant.
Prius quam Venus expergiscatur, prius deproperant sedulo
sacrificare, nam vigilante Venere si veniant eae
ita sunt turpes credo ecaster Venerem ipsam e fano fugent.

AGORASTOCLES (a lover). *Quo te agis?* AD. *Egone? In aedem*
Veneris. AGOR. *Quid eo?* AD. *Vt Venerem propitiem.*
 AGOR. *Eho an irata est? Propitia hercle est. Vel ego pro illa spondeo.*
 . . . AGOR. *Quid festinas? Turba nunc illi est.* AD. *Scio.*
Sunt illi aliae quas spectare ego, et me spectari volo.
 AGOR. *Qui lubet spectare turpes pulchram spectandam dare?*
 AD. *Quia apud aedem Veneris hodie est mercatus meretricius;*
eo conveniunt mercatores ibi ego me ostendi volo.

. . . AGOR. *Age sustolle hoc amiculum.*
 AD. *Pura sum comperce amabo me attractare Agorastocles.*
 (This evidently refers to ceremonial cleanness.)

'Is everything here which is fitting to gain the favor of the god? —
 I have looked out for everything. . . . Let's go, sister. — Oh! pray,
 why are you in a hurry to go there now? — Can you ask? Because
 master is waiting for us at the temple of Venus. — La! let him wait,
 you wait here. There's a crowd now round the altar. Do you want
 to mingle with those low girls? etc.

We have been very lazy this morning. — Why so, pray? — Because
 we did n't long ago before light go to the temple of Venus, to be the
 first to lay the fire on the altar. — Oh, there's no need of that. Those
 who have faces fit for the night get the start in going to sacrifice.
 They make all haste to sacrifice before Venus wakes up, for if they
 should come while Venus was awake, bless me, I verily believe she'd
 drive them all out of the temple, they're so ugly.

Where are you going? — Where? To the temple of Venus. — Why
 there? — To propitiate Venus. — Why! is she angry? Bless you,
 she's propitious; even I can answer for her as to that, etc.'

Later in the play, v. 1174, the girls return :

AD. Fuit hodie operae cuius qui amabilitati animum adiceret
oculis epulas dare delubrum qui hodie ornatum eo visere venit.
Deamavi ecaster illi hodie lepidissima munera meretricum
digna dea venustissima Venere, neque contempsi eius opes hodie.
Tanta ibi copia venustatum aderat in suo quique loco sita munde.
Aras tus murrinus omnis odor
complebat. Haud sordere visust
festus dies Venus nec tuom fanum ;
tantus ibi clientarum erat numerus
quae ad Calydoniam venerant Venerem.

In *Curculio* 216 a pander, who has passed the night in the temple of Aesculapius on account of sickness, says :

Migrare certumst iam nunc e fano foras
quando Aesculapi ita sentio sententiam
ut qui me nihili faciat nec salvum velit.

‘I am determined now at once to leave the temple and go out, now that I find the feeling of Aesculapius is such that he cares naught for me nor wishes to save me.’

Later, in v. 260, he tells a dream :

Hac nocte in somnis visus sum viderier
procul sedere longe a me Aesculapium
neque eum ad me adire neque me magni pendere
visumst. . . .

‘Last night I seemed to see in my dream that Aesculapius sat far away from me nor would come near me nor pay any attention to me.

The cook says, v. 270 :

Hoc animum advorte : pacem ab Aesculapio
petas ne forte tibi evenat magnum malum
quod in quiete tibi portentumst.

‘Just attend to this, ask grace from Aesculapius, lest some great misfortune shall befall you which was portended in your dream. . . .

The pander answers :

Ibo atque orabo.
. . . Bene facis.

‘You’re very kind ; I will go and pray.’

This scene shows the custom and at the same time the common estimate of the perjured Leno.

In *Rudens*, Prol. 60, the pander says he wishes to pay a vow to Venus and invites the young man to the breakfast. The young man comes as a matter of course.

A fragment of Philemon (Fr. 67) gives a prayer of sacrifice as follows :

Ἄρτεμι φίλῃ δέσποινα τοῦτόν σοι φέρω
ὦ πότνι ἄμφιφῶντα καὶ σπονδήσιμα.

‘Beloved lady Artemis, I bring your majesty this cake with candles (?) and libations.’

Other uses of the festivals than religious ones are shown by occasional allusions. Thus, in *Aulularia*, Prol. 36, the vigils of Ceres are spoken of as affording opportunities for amorous adventurers. So also the Dionysia in *Cistellaria* 156. This shows the regular observance of these religious rites and takes no more from their religious character than the presence of pickpockets in a church edifice.

So in Menander, Fr. 558, in regard to the same festival a girl says :

Διονυσίων μὲν ἦν πομπή.
ὁ δέ μ’ ἠκολούθησεν μέχρι τοῦ πρὸς τὴν θύραν·
ἔπειτα φοιτῶν καὶ κολακεύων ἐμέ τε καὶ
τὴν μητέρ’ ἔγνω μ’, etc.

That religion was looked upon variously by different persons appears in many places.

In Menander, Fr. 601 :

ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ
μάλιστα τοὺς γήμαντας· αἰὲ γάρ τινα
ἄγειν ἑορτήν ἐστ’ ἀνάγκη.

‘The gods ruin us, especially the married men, for it’s always necessary to celebrate some festival.’ This, undoubtedly, refers to the devotion of women to these rites and the necessity of indulging them in their desires.

In spite of the general reverence in which the power and supposed activities of the gods were held, there are instances, as in all religions, of a tendency to drive sharp bargains with them, to ‘transact with God.’ It is only necessary to hint at the universal prevalence of this tendency in all religions ancient and modern.

In an extract from an unknown dramatist (Adespota, Fr. 1205) we have :

τίς ὧδε μῶρος . . .
 . . . ὅστις ἐλπίζει θεοῖς
 ὀστῶν ἀσάρκων καὶ χολῆς πυρουμένης
 ἃ καὶ κυσὶν πεινῶσιν οὐχὶ βρώσιμα
 χαίρειν ἀπαρχαῖς καὶ γέρας λαχεῖν τόδε;

‘What man is so foolish . . . as to think the gods are pleased with the sacrifice of fleshless bones and burnt gall, which even starving dogs won’t eat, and that they accept this as an offering?’

In *Rudens* 760 a Leno, wishing to recover his slaves, who have taken refuge at an altar, where, of course, they are exempt from violence, goes to get fire to burn them out and deprive them of their asylum.

At qui, quia votas, utramque iam mecum abducam simul.

D. Quid facies? L. Vulcanum adducam, is Venerist adversarius.

765:

D. Ego dabo ignem, siquidem in capite tuo conflandi copias.

L. Ibo hercle aliquo quaeritatum ignem. D. Quid quom inveneris?

L. Ignem magnum hic faciam. D. Quin inhumanum exuras tibi?

L. Immo hasce ambas hic in ara ut vivas comburam, id volo.

‘But now just because you forbid me I will carry both of them off with me at once. — What will you do? — I’ll bring in Vulcan, he’s the enemy of Venus. . . .’

‘I’ll give you fire, if there’s any chance of kindling it on your head. — Jove, I’ll go and hunt for some fire. — What when you’ve found it? — I’ll make a big fire here. . . . (Uncertain???) — No, to burn up these two girls here on the altar alive, that’s what I want.’

In Eubulus, Fr. 95, a god is supposed to say :

πρῶτον μὲν ὅταν ἐμοί τι θύωσιν τινες,
 αἷμα, κύστιν, μὴ καρδίαν
 μῆδ’ ἐπιπόλαιον. οὐκ ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐσθίω
 γλύκιον οὐδὲ μῆριαν.

‘In the first place, when any sacrifice to me the blood, the gall bladder, not the heart nor the . . . (?), for I do not eat the gall nor the thigh bone.’

This passage, though of uncertain meaning, evidently refers to the practices of men who sacrifice only the worthless parts to the gods.

In Eubulus, Fr. 130 :

αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς θεοῖσι τὴν κέρκον μόνην
καὶ μηρὸν ὥσπερ παιδερασταῖς θύετε.

‘But to the gods themselves you sacrifice only the tail and the thigh (bone?).’ The bitter jest at the end shows that the extract refers to the same sharp practice.

In Menander 319 we have :

εἴτ' οὐχ ὁμοῖα πράττομεν καὶ θύομεν;
Ὅπου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἡγορασμένον
δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα,
αὐλητριῖδας δὲ καὶ μύρον καὶ ψαλτρίας,
Μενδαῖον, Θάσιον, ἐγγέλεις, τυρόν, μέλι,
μικροῦ τάλαντον, γίνεται τε κατὰ λόγον
δραχμῶν μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἄξιον λαβεῖν δέκα
ἡμᾶς, ἐάν καὶ καλλιερηθῇ τοῖς θεοῖς,
τούτων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀνελεῖν τὴν ζημίαν,
πῶς οὐχὶ τὸ κακὸν τῶν ἱερῶν διπλάζεται;
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὦν γ' ὁ θεὸς οὐκ εἴσαα τὴν
ὀσφὺν ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιθέϊναι ποτε,
εἰ μὴ καθήγιζέν τις ἅμα τὴν ἐγχελυν,
ἵνα Καλλιμέδων ἀπέθανεν εἰς τῶν συγγενῶν.

The sharp comment in Menander, Fr. 129,¹ is most important, giving evidence both of the rule and the exception in regard to sacrifice.

Ὡς θύουσι δ' οἱ τυμβορύχοι
κοίτας φέροντες καὶ σταμνί' οὐχὶ τῶν θεῶν
ἔνεκ', ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν. Ὁ λιβανωτὸς εὐσεβῆς
καὶ τὸ πόπανον· τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ
ὅπαν ἐπιτεθεῖν· οἱ δ' ὀσφὺν ἄκραν
καὶ τὴν χολὴν ὅσα τ' ἄβρωτα τοῖς θεοῖς
ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τ' ἄλλα καταπίνουσι.

¹ Quoted from Meineke.

‘As the sacrilegious (violators of graves) sacrifice, bringing baskets (of food or incense) and wine, not for the sake of the gods, but for their own. The incense is a pious offering and so is the cake. All of these the god took, but they, having offered the tip of the rump (the *os sacrum*) and the gall and the uneatable bones to the gods, drink up the rest themselves.’

D. The passages which recognize the control of the world and men’s affairs as in the hands of the gods, both generally and specially, are numerous. This control is often indicated as on the side of justice and virtue, but often also has no express reference to conduct.

In the Prologue to the *Rudens*, quoted on p. 144, Arcturus professes to be an agent of Jupiter to ‘even things up’ in the world.

In v. 67 he says further :

Ego quoniam uideo uirginem asportarier,
tetuli et [ei] auxilium et lenoni exitium semul.

With the *Rudens* Prologue may be compared two fragments of comedy (probably New Comedy).

Kock, Fr. 545 :

ὁ Ζεὺς κατέϊδε χρόνιος εἰς τὰς διφθέρας,

and Fr. 546 :

ἀρχαιότερα τῆς διφθέρας λέγεις Διός.

The διφθέραι must be the parchment records of Jupiter referred to in the *Rudens* Prologue.

The fragment said to be of Philemon 246 is not certainly his, but must be nearly enough contemporary to serve in this connection. It can hardly be Christian, at any rate. It describes the fate of the good and the bad :

οἷε σὺ τοὺς θανόντας, ὦ Νικήρατε,
τρυφῆς ἀπάσης μεταλαβόντας ἐν βίῳ
καὶ γῆν καλύψειν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντ’ εἰς χρόνον
πεφευγέαι τὸ θεῖον ὡς λεληθότας ;
ἔστιν Δίκης ὀφθαλμὸς ὃς τὰ πάνθ’ ὀρᾷ .
καὶ γὰρ καθ’ Ἀιδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν,
μίαν δικαίων χεῖρ’ ἀσεβῶν ὁδόν .

εἰ γὰρ δίκαιος κάσεβῆς ἔξουσιν ἔν,
 ἄρπαζ' ἀπελθών, κλέπτ', ἀποστέρει, κύκα.
 μηδὲν πλανηθῆς · ἔστι κἄν Ἄιδου κρίσις
 ἥνπερ ποιήσει θεὸς ὁ πάντων δεσπότης,
 οὐ τοῦνομα φοβερόν, οὐδ' ἂν ὀνομάσαιμ' ἐγώ,
 ὃς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι πρὸς μῆκος βίου
 δίδωσι.

'Think you, Niceratus, the dead who have in life enjoyed all delights, etc., have escaped the deity as unknown? There is an eye of Justice that sees all things. For in the world below, we think there are two paths, one the way of the just, the other, of the impious, etc.'

In *Miles* 723 a scene runs thus :

PA. Huic homini dignumst diuitias esse et diu uitam dari,
 qui et rem seruat et se bene habet suisque amicis usui est.
 PL. O lepidum caput. Ita me di deaeque ament, aequom fuit
 deos parauisse, uno exemplo ne omnes uitam uiuerent.
 Sicut merci pretium statuit quist probus agoranomus :
 quae probast mers pretium ei statuit, pro uirtute ut ueneat,
 quae improbast, pro mercis uitio dominum pretio pauperet :
 itidem diuos dispertisse uitam humanam aequom fuit :
 qui lepide ingeniatus esset, uitam ei longinquam darent,
 qui improbi essent et scelesti, is adimerent animam cito.
 Si hoc parauissent, et homines essent minus multi mali
 et minus audacter scelesta facerent facta : et postea,
 qui homines probi essent, esset is annona uilior.
 PE. Qui deorum consilia culpet, stultus incitusque sit.

Here both the complaint and the answer imply a divine government of the world, and that in the interests of virtue.

Certainly ancient, but not referrible to tragedy or comedy, is Kock, *Adespota*, Fr. 1220 :

σῶσαι γὰρ ὅποτεν τῷ θεῷ δοκῇ τινα,
 πολλὰς προφάσεις δίδωσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν.

'For when the god sees fit to save a man he gives many intimations for his preservation.'

In *Mercator*, Fr. 225 :

Miris modis di ludos faciunt hominibus.

‘The gods make sport of us in marvellous ways and send us dreams.’

In *Menander*, Fr. 201 :

ἀλλὰ θεὸς οὐδεὶς εἰς το προκάλπιον φέρει
ἀργύριον, ἀλλ’ ἔδωκεν εὐνους γενόμενος
πόρον, εἰσβολήν τ’ ἔδειξεν εὐπορίας τινός,
ἦν ἂν παρῆς σύ, μηκέτ’ αἰτιῶ θεόν,
ἤδη δὲ τῇ σουτοῦ ζυγομάχει μαλακίᾳ.

‘But no god brings wealth into the lap of man, but, being propitious, he shows some way and access to good fortune, etc.’

In *Eunuchus* 1031 a young man congratulates himself :

Nam in me plane di potestatem suam
omnem ostendere.

‘For in my case the gods have plainly shown all their power.’

In *Eunuchus* 875 :

Quid si hoc quispiam voluit deus?

‘What if some god has willed it thus?’

In *Bacchides* 638^a Pistoclerus (a young man) says :

Deus respiciet nos aliquis.

‘Some god will have regard for us.’

In *Phormio* 345 and elsewhere :

Praesentem deum,

‘a present divinity,’ is said of one who gives good fortune.

In *Aulularia* 88 a poor man says :

Pauper sum ; fateor, patior ; quod di dant fero.

‘I am poor, I admit. I don’t mind ; I bear what the gods send.’

In *Menander’s Eunuchus*, Fr. 187 :

μὴ θεομάχει, μηδὲ προσάγου τῷ πράγματι
χειμῶνας ἑτέρους, τοὺς δ’ ἀναγκαίους φέρε.

‘Fight not with the gods, nor add to the business other tempests,
but bear those (tempests) that are necessary.’

In *Captivi* 195 :

Si di immortales id voluerunt, vos hanc aerumnam exsequi,
deceat id pati animo aequo.

‘If the immortal gods have willed that you should suffer this
sorrow, it is fitting to bear it with equanimity.’

In *Aulularia* 742 :

Deos credo voluisse ; nam ni vellent, non fieret, scio.

‘I think the gods have willed it. For had they not, it would not
have happened, I know.’

In *Captivi*, Prol. 22 :

Di nos quasi pilas homines habent.

‘The gods treat us as hand balls.’

In *Trinummus* 346, and in many other places, riches are said to
be acquired *deum virtute*, ‘by favor of the gods.’

So in *Persa* 391 and *Aulularia* 166.

In *Captivi* 313 Tyndarus says :

Est profecto deus, qui quae nos gerimus auditque et videt.

‘There is surely a god who hears and sees what we do.’

In Menander, Fr. 379 :

ἀλλὰ τῶν χρηστῶν ἔχει τιν’ ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ θεός.

‘But even god has some care of the righteous.’

In Menander, Fr. 173 :

μὴ καταφρονήσης τῶν θεῶν · ἐν παντὶ δεῖ
καιρῷ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπικρατεῖν ἀπανταχοῦ.

‘Scorn not the gods ; in every case justice must everywhere hold
sway.’

In *Poenulus* 1187 ff. Hanno, the Carthaginian, offers this prayer :

Iuppiter, qui genus colis alisque hominum, per quem vivimus vitalem aevom,
quem penes spes vitae sunt hominum omnium, da diem hunc sospitem quaeso,
rebus meis agundis, ut quibus annos multos carui quasque (e) patria
perdidi parvas redde is libertatem, invictae praemium ut esse sciam pietati.

‘Jupiter, who cherishest and supportest the race of men, through whom we live the span of life, etc.’ This might well be the translation of a modern prayer.

In *Adelphi* 704 :

Tu potius deos conprecare ; nam tibi eos certo scio,
quo vir melior multo es quam ego, obtemperaturos magis.

‘Father, do you rather pray to the gods; since you are a better man than I, they will heed you more, I know.’

In *Philemon*, Fr. 181 :

οἱ γὰρ θεὸν σέβοντες ἐλπίδας καλὰς
ἔχουσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν.

‘For those who reverence the gods have good hope of safety.’

In *Menander*, Fr. 572 :

ὅταν τι πράττης ὅσιον, ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα
πρόβαλλε σαντῶ, τοῦτο γινώσκων ὅτι
τόλμη δικαίᾳ καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει.

‘When you do anything virtuous, have good hope, knowing that a just effort the god, too, will aid.’

In *Menander*, Fr. 550, 551 :

ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται
εὐθὺς γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου
ἀγαθός · κακὸν γὰρ δαίμον’ οὐ νομιστέον
εἶναι βίον βλάπτοντα χρηστόν. . . .
ἅπαντα δ’ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν. . . .

‘To every man there is a genius who is for him from birth a guide of life, a good one, too, for an evil genius is not to be believed to exist, who hinders a good life, for every god ought to be good.’

In *Menander*, Fr. 379 :

ἀλλὰ τῶν χρηστῶν ἔχει τιν’ ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ θεός.

‘But god also has a care for the righteous.’

From either tragedy or comedy we have the fragment, *Adespota* 1266 :

θεοῦ θέλοντος δυνατὰ πάντα γίνεται.

‘If (the) god wills, all things become possible.’

Evidence of prayer and dependence on the gods for blessings is found in Antiphanes, Fr. 228, where we read:

τοῦ δ' ἄν τις ἄλλον πρὸς θεῶν, τίνος εἵνεκα
εὐχαιτο πλουτεῖν εὐπορεῖν τε χρημάτων,
ἢ τοῦ δύνασθαι παραβοηθεῖν τοῖς φίλοις,
σπείρειν τε καρπὸν Χάριτος ἡδίστης θεῶν;
τοῦ μὲν πιεῖν γὰρ καὶ φαγεῖν τὰς ἡδονὰς
ἔχομεν ὁμοίως· οὐχὶ τοῖς λαμπροῖσι δὲ
δείπνοις τὸ πεινῆν παύεται.

‘For what other reason should one pray to the gods for wealth and resources than that we may be able to assist our friends, etc.?’

The passage from Menander, Fr. 319, quoted p. 169, shows the same feeling.

In Alexis, Fr. 265, some one says:

τοὺς εὐτυχούντας ἐπιφανῶς
δεῖ ζῆν φανεράν τε τὴν δόσιν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
ποιεῖν· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς δεδωκὼς τὰγαθὰ
ὦν μὲν πέπορικεν οἴεται χάριν τινὰ
ἔχειν ἑαυτῷ· τοὺς ἀποκρυπτομένους δὲ καὶ
πράττειν μετρίως φάσκοντας, ἀχαρίστους ὁρῶν
ἀνελευθέρως τε ζῶντας ἐπὶ καιροῦ τινος
λαβῶν ἀφείλεθ' ὅσα δεδωκὼς ἦν πάλοι.

An obvious reference to gratitude for divine favor.

In Menander, Fr. 292, an allusion to sacrifice and prayer reads thus:

σπονδὴ· δίδου σὺ σπλαγχν' ἀκολουθῶν· ποῖ βλέπεις;
σπονδὴ· φέρ' ὦ παῖ Σωσία· σπονδὴ· καλῶς.
ἔγχει. θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις εὐχόμεθα
Ὀλυμπίασι πᾶσι πάσαις (λάμβανε
τὴν γλῶτταν ἐν τούτῳ) δίδοναι σωτηρίαν,
ὑγίειαν, ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ, τῶν ὄντων τε νῦν
ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν πᾶσι· ταῦτ' εὐχόμεθα.

In *Rudens* 185 the attitude of a young woman in distress towards the gods is depicted:

Nimio hominum fortunae minus miserae memorantur,
 experiundo iis datur acerbum.
 Hoc deo complacitumst, me hoc ornatu ornatam in incertas
 regiones timidam eiectam.
 Hancine ego ad rem natam [esse me] miseram memorabo?
 Hancine ego partem capio ob pietatem praecipuam?
 Nam hoc mi haud laborist, laborem hunc potiri,
 si erga parentem aut deos me impiavi;
 sed id si parate curavi ut caverem,
 tum hoc mi indecore, inique, immodeste,
 datis, di: nam quid habebunt sibi signi impii posthac
 si ad hunc modum est innoxiiis honor apud vos?
 Nam me si sciam [in vos] fecisse aut parentes
 sceleste minus me miserer:
 sed erile scelus me sollicitat eius me impietas male habet.

‘The fortunes of mankind are far less wretched as they are reported [than] the bitterness that comes to them in real experience. This has pleased god that I, a timid woman, in this plight should be cast upon unknown shores. Shall I say that it was for this that I was born, poor wretched creature? Is this my portion, on account of exemplary piety? For this does not trouble me, to come to this trouble if I have ever failed in piety towards my father or the gods, but if I have ever carefully guarded against that, then, ye gods, I say, you inflict this upon me unjustly and unreasonably. For what sign will the impious have hereafter if you honor the guiltless after this fashion? Now if I knew I had acted wickedly towards you or my parents I should feel less pity for myself. But it’s the villainy of my master that pursues me, his impiety makes me wretched.’

Here we have the well-known doctrine that association with the wicked brings punishment even on the righteous; cf. Hor. Ode III, 2, 29.

. . . Saepe Diespiter
 neglectus incesto addidit integrum.

In *Rudens* 550 Charmides says:

Pol minime miror, navis si fractast tibi,
 scelus te et sceleste parta quae vexit bona.

‘No wonder that your ship was wrecked, which carried you, you villain, and your villainously gotten gains.’

In the comedy, every formal act is preceded by

Quae res bene vortat

or some similar expression (cf. “God save the commonwealth of Massachusetts”).

In Menander, Fr. 291:

ταῦτόματόν ἐστιν ὥς ξοικέ που θεός,
σῶζει τε πολλὰ τῶν ἀοράτων πραγμάτων.

‘Chance seems somehow to be a god, and he saves many cases not seen (*i.e.* by the persons concerned in them)’.

In Philemon, Fr. 165:

μηδέποτε μέμφου τὴν τύχην, εἰδὼς ὅτι
καιρῷ πονηρῷ καὶ τὰ θεῖα δυστυχεῖ.

‘Never blame Fortune when you know that, in hard times, even the affairs of the gods are in distress.’

E. The inviolability of sacred things and the reverence paid to them is often indicated.

In *Bacchides* 306:

Nos apud Theotimum omne aurum deposivimus,
qui illic sacerdos est Dianae Ephesiae

is said of money deposited with the priest of Diana at Ephesus and stored in the temple, evidently for safe keeping, under the protection of the goddess.

In *Mostellaria* 1094 we have:

Ego interim hanc aram occupabo.

A slave, Tranio, has cheated his master and knows that he is in for it. He makes an excuse and takes possession of the altar. The master tries to get him away, but there he is master of the situation and refuses to leave the altar.

In *Rudens* 403 ff. a priestess is represented as a worthy woman almost *ex officio* :

Ego quod mihi imperavit
sacerdos, id faciam atque aquam hinc de proximo rogabo ;
nam extemplo, si verbis suis peterem, daturos dixit.
Neque digniorem censeo vidisse anum me quemquam,
cui deos atque homines censeam bene facere magis decere.
Vt lepide, ut liberaliter, ut honeste atque haud gravate
timidas egentes uvidas eiectas exanimatas
accepit ad sese, haud secus quam si ex se simus natae.

‘I will do what the priestess bade me, and ask for water here at the next neighbor’s, for she said if I asked for her they would give it to me at once. And I think I never saw a more worthy old lady, one to whom gods and men might more worthily do a favor, etc.’

The altar as a place of refuge is plainly indicated in *Antiphanes*, Fr. 255 :

τὸ γῆρας ὥσπερ βωμός ἐστι τῶν κακῶν·
πάντ’ ἔστ’ ἰδεῖν εἰς τοῦτο καταφευγόντα.

‘Age is like an altar for all ills ; you can see them all taking refuge there.’

In *Rudens* 254 a woman says of the temple of Venus :

Video decorum dis locum.

‘I see a spot worthy of the gods.’

In *Aulularia* 674 Euclio transfers a pot of money to the grove of Silvanus, an out-of-the-way place. Strobilus steals it from there. He had kept it before in the temple of Fides. Probably it could not naturally be taken from there, either, though nothing is said about it. Euclio, in his anxiety, has merely taken it from one safe place to another :

Silvani lucus extra murum est avius,
crebro salicto oppletus, ibi sumam locum.
Certumst Silvano potius credam quam Fide.

In *Rudens* 685 the two shipwrecked girls fly to the altar of Venus for refuge from the pander :

Adsidite hic in ara, etc.

Later, in the same, 694, Palaestra answers and prays to the goddess :

Tibi auscultamus et, Venus alma, ambae te obsecramus,
aram amplexantes hanc tuam lacrumantes, genibus nixae,
in custodelam nos tuam ut recipias et tutere.

‘We heed your counsel and, kindly Venus, we both entreat thee, embracing this thy altar, weeping and kneeling on our knees, that thou mayst take us under thy protection and keep us safe from harm.’

In *Rudens* 615 Trachalio appeals to his fellow-citizens against sacrilege. Daemones at once responds, as being under obligation to protect things sacred. In the same tone he says in v. 650:

Quis istic est qui deos tam parvi pendit?

‘Who is this fellow who makes the gods of so little account?’

In 706 he shows his wrath at the Leno.

Again, in *Rudens* 474, an urn sacred to Venus and inscribed with her name is left on Sceparnio. He would be taken and punished at once if it should be found in his possession :

Metuo hercle ne illa mulier mi insidias locet,
ut comprehendar cum sacra urna Veneria.
Nempe optimo (me) iure in vinclis enicet
magistratus si quis me hanc habere viderit.
Nam haec litteratast, eapse cantat cuia sit.

In *Rudens* 270, worshippers ought to be dressed in white and come with victims. Coming in poor raiment, the girls plead shipwreck as an excuse, and are received :

Ergo aequius vos erat
candidatas venire hostiatasque. Ad hoc
fanum ad istunc modum non veniri solet.
PAL. Quaene eiectae e mari simus ambae, obsecro,
unde nos hostias agere voluisti huc?
nunc tibi complectimur genua egentes opum,
quae in locis nesciis nescia spe sumus,
ut tuo recipias tecto servesque nos
miseriarumque te ambarum uti misereat,
quibus nec locust ullus nec spes parata,
neque hoc amplius, [quam] quod vides, nobis quicquamst.

F. As might be expected, some varying sentiments about the divine government are found. Thus in Menander, Fr. 386, we have :

ἔστι κρίσις ἄδικος, ὡς ἔοικε, κἀν θεοῖς.

‘There is unjust judgment even with the gods, it seems.’

Again, in Menander, Fr. 174 :

οἱ τοσαύτην τοὺς θεοὺς ἄγειν σχολήν,
ὥστε τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὰγαθὸν καθ’ ἡμέραν,
νέμειν ἐκάστω, Σμικρίνη;

‘Think you the gods have sufficient leisure time to allot to every man good and evil day by day, Smicrine?’

There are a number of passages regarding the nature of the gods, and the belief in omens which I have been obliged to omit for want of space.

In conclusion, it appears that the many passages in the Latin comedy in connection with the precisely similar passages in the Greek fragments show clearly, in spite of the rottenness of the civilization which they represent, a people in an attitude towards their religion not very different from that of ordinary people to-day. The Greeks generally as they appear in the Comedy, *i.e.* all the citizens except perhaps the philosophers and literary men, who, as in all ages, were sharply distinguished from the *bourgeoisie*, believed (1) in the sanctity of an oath and the enforcement of its obligation by the divine powers; (2) in the necessity, or at least the usefulness, of divine worship (a) in the family, (b) on special occasions, and (c) in the public cults; (3) in a divine government of the world, and this in general in the interests of righteousness. That these beliefs are not essentially different from those of the nineteenth century, few, I think, will dispute. Naturally the spirituality and the sociological duties of modern religion, products of advancing civilization, are entirely wanting, but all the essential features of religion in general are there.

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